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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

A Christian Revolution

By Kirby Page

Heaven Was His Destination

Hold Up Naval Contracts!

Editorials

Is Zionism Going Fascist?

By Louis Minsky

15 Cents a Copy • February 20, 1935 • Four Dollars a Year

FEB 19 1935

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In This Issue

KIRBY PAGE

a contributing editor of The Christian Century, and former editor of World Tomorrow, is now addressing colleges and church gatherings in all parts of the country in behalf of peace and the application of Christian principles to the solution of social and industrial problems. Mr. Page's most recent book, "Living Triumphantly," outlines a method by which to put into practice in personal living the general approach to moral and political problems which has made his treatment of world affairs internationally known.

LOUIS MINSKY

is the American correspondent of the Jewish Chronicle of London, the leading Jewish periodical of England. Mr. Minsky has contributed several articles dealing with Jewish affairs to The Christian Century. His home is in New York.

PAUL C. ELLIS

is minister of the Methodist church in Massina, Iowa.

SHERWOOD EDDY

has just returned to the United States after a tour of several months in China, in the course of which he held meetings in many of the largest cities and inspected political and social conditions in many parts of the country, including regions which have been until recently under communist control. Reports from China indicate that Dr. Eddy's meetings on this tour exerted a greater influence than any of those held by him on previous trips to that country.

Next Week

T. T. BRUMBAUGH

will present a definitive exposition of the teaching of "Kagawa on Cooperatives."

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

February 20, 1935

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WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.56 extra

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Calendar of Coming Events

Feb. 18, 19, 25, 26, Mar. 4, 5. Baptist school of Christian leadership, Los Angeles area, Los Angeles, Cal.

Feb. 20-23. Social welfare conference, Pittsburgh.

Feb. 21, 22, 28, Mar. 1, 7, 8. Baptist school of Christian leadership, Foothill association.

Feb. 24. Brotherhood day, sponsored by National Conference of Jews and Christians.

Feb. 24-Mar. 8. Spring semester of Marion county training school: Marion county council of religious education, Indianapolis.

Feb. 26-28. Biennial conference of city work, Cincinnati, O.

Feb. 26-28. Methodist council of cities, Cincinnati.

Mar. 1-2. Christian youth conference of Pacific northwest, interdenominational, Seattle, Wash.

Mar. 4. Indianapolis ministers association, Roberts Park Methodist church, Indianapolis.

Mar. 4-8. Bruce Curry lectures at Denver university, Denver, Colo.

Mar. 6. Methodist Episcopal church Kansas conference, First church, Parsons, Kans.

Mar. 7-11. Philadelphia Methodist conference, 148th annual session, First church, Germantown, Phila.

Mar. 7, 8. Texas Baptists' laymen's convention, Dallas.

Mar. 8. Council of federated church women, Christ Episcopal church, Indianapolis.

Mar. 8-10. Metropolitan youth conference, interdenominational, Riverside church, New York city.

Mar. 8-10. Northwest Christian youth conference, Minneapolis. Mar. 11. Pastors' luncheon conference, the Whitlier, Philadelphia. Address by Reinhold Niebuhr.

Mar. 11-15. Baptists' annual pastors' conference, Theological seminary, Louisville, Ky.

Mar. 13-14. Oregon pastors conference, interdenominational, Portland, Ore.

Mar. 14. Interracial conference, Philadelphia.

Mar. 14, 15, 20-22. Santa Barbara association Baptist school of Christian leadership, Santa Barbara, Calif.

Mar. 15-17. Northwest older boys' conference, Inland empire, Spokane, Wash.

Mar. 15, 18, 19. Terry lectures, Congregational, Yale divinity school, New Haven, Conn.

Mar. 27. Methodist Episcopal Wilmington conference, Seaford, Del.

Mar. 30, 31. Illinois Baptist youth congress, First Baptist church, Danville, Ill.

Apr. 30-May 1. Annual meeting, department of evangelism, Federal council of churches, Washington, D. C.

May 15-19. Spring meeting of the Methodist board of bishops in Chicago.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY
An Undenominational Journal of Religion

VOLUME LII | CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 20, 1935 | NUMBER 8

EDITORIAL

The Child Labor Battle Front

SEVEN state legislatures are now approaching action on resolutions which, if adopted, would add their ratifications to the pending child labor amendment. These are the legislatures of Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Nevada, New York and Vermont. The lower house of the Nevada legislature has already voted approval; the revival of the issue in New York represents refusal by the foes of child labor to accept the smothering of the issue in committee. Nine legislatures now in session will not act unless a ratification resolution is introduced. These are the legislatures of Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Missouri, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina and South Dakota. Two more states voted ratification last week, Idaho and Indiana. New Mexico was added to the list refusing to ratify. If the amendment is to go into effect before the expiration next June of the NRA codes, which now forbid child labor, legislatures of twelve of the states named above must act affirmatively. Churches and civic organizations which have declared in favor of the pending amendment can therefore see exactly where the battle lies. Let no resident of the sixteen states listed mistake the responsibility which lies upon him. This is one of the times when silence on the part of the citizens involved is equivalent to indifference. And indifference may permit the return of a blot on American civilization.

Brotherhood Day, February 24

BROTHERHOOD DAY is Sunday, February 24. The National Conference of Jews and Christians has appointed this day to give occasion for a simultaneous and concerted consideration of the things which make for good will and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews that the influence of these factors may be increased, and of the barriers to understanding among them that these may be removed. Churches may properly give attention to this subject in their pulpits, but it is especially urged that in every community where the three elements are represented there be a joint meeting on neutral ground, *not* in a church. The President has contributed a message of approval and encouragement. The movement deserves general support. The obvious temptation of every such enterprise is to evaporate in a pleasant cloud of edifying generalities. "Tolerance" and "cooperation" are such nice words, and each of them has a list of synonyms and cognates equally pleasing to the ear and flattering to the almost universal pride of liberality. This is all very well so far as it goes, but it does not go very far. What is needed—and what the sponsoring committee means—is that the day should be not merely an opportunity for the effusion of smooth sentiments clothed in fraternal language, but that it should be an occasion for focusing serious thought on a very vital subject, and for facing the facts as they affect each community, and for the formulation of plans, in penitence and sackcloth if need be, for lessening bitterness and prejudice and tearing down the walls which these have built between neighbors and fellow-citizens.

A Social Ministry—Theory And Practice

THE National Religion and Labor foundation, with headquarters in New Haven, is sending out a questionnaire to "109,000 religious leaders without respect to race, creed, or denomination." The names signed to the request for the return of the document include Francis J. McConnell, S. Parkes Cadman, William Scarlett, John A. Lapp, Sidney E. Goldstein, Albert W. Beaven, D. P. McGeachey, James R. Cox, Edward L. Israel, Daniel A. Poling, M. Ashby Jones, Milton Steinberg, William P. King and Jerome Davis, chairman of the foundation. Protests are already coming in, however, against asking clergymen the sort of questions contained in this folder. Are such protests well founded? A reading of the questionnaire indicates that it is designed to discover what actual acts the clergy of the nation are performing, or stand ready to perform, in order to give substance to their professed devotion to social ideals. Starting with a comparatively innocuous inquiry as to how much the minister replying stands ready to do in behalf of prisoners in the local jail, the test works its way down through a considerable list of controversial industrial, racial and

political issues, seeking to find out exactly how far the minister is ready to go in involving himself in each. At the end there is the blanket invitation: "Please describe in as detailed form as you desire the most significant thing you or your religious institution have done during the past year for social justice." There is no impertinence in such a questionnaire as this. There is at least a considerable chance that it may help hosts of ministers to look with new realism at the gap between their professions and their practice. Even in the case of many who do not return their answers, it is likely that confrontation by this document will contribute to a realization of the extent to which their interest in social justice has taken itself out in talk.

Should Christians Join Jews In Observing Yom Kippur?

WHY should not Yom Kippur, the Jewish day of atonement, be observed in the fall of 1935 as a national day of prayer and self-examination? The question has been raised by the Rev. Charles D. Brodhead of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Says Mr. Brodhead: "In this period of widespread anti-semitic pressure it would be a timely witness to our common religious bond with the Jew. It would be a mutual project to meet a situation that we all share together." Yom Kippur, the most solemn day on the Jewish calendar, takes roots in the earliest Old Testament traditions. On that day the ancient high priest, discarding his gorgeous robes of office, dressed in simple linen and entered the holy of holies to sacrifice and intercede for his people. During the Babylonian captivity and afterwards, when exile and dispersion was their lot, the temple destroyed and the sacrifice abolished, the day became for the Jews one of personal as well as national significance. It emphasized the sense of individual sin which contributed to and merged with the sins of the nation. The analogy with our present economic and cultural plight is thus complete. Through our sense of guilt, as individuals and as a nation, we would, if the suggestion is carried out, devote a day to spiritual stock-taking. The day does not lend itself to commercialization as do Christmas, Easter and Thanksgiving. Moreover, people who are not yet seriously contaminated by the virus of race antipathy could, by participating, submit themselves to an antidote before the contagion spreads too far. The proposal therefore seems to be an excellent one. Because our Jewish friends obviously cannot take the initiative in putting it into effect, it is entirely up to Christians to decide whether or not they will share with them, on their great day of atonement, this practical experiment in interconfessional fellowship.

Italy Mobilizes for War With Abyssinia

THE TROUBLE with dictators is this—they cost too much. They come to power usually because the form of government which they displace is held to be wasteful of the public energy and resources. But in the long run a dictatorship is likely to prove the most expensive kind of government on the market. The reason is obvious. A dictator must maintain a sense of national crisis in order to justify his dictatorship. Only the illusion of extraordinary necessity will keep the public in a state of mind content to see such vast power in the hands of one man or a little group of men. And crisis finally produces conflict—an expensive business. All of which is a somewhat abstract and roundabout way of approaching the discovery that Italy is in process of shipping huge reinforcements to Africa, where it is announced that she means to put an end to the troubles encountered by her outposts in dealing with Abyssinian attacks. Every line of the official announcement made in Rome on February 11, however, betrays the cynical nature of the imperialist adventure on which Mussolini has embarked. To call the mobilization of 250,000 troops "a purely defensive measure, intended only to strengthen our position along the border," is ridiculous. To say that this offensive is undertaken because of a skirmish in which five soldiers are alleged to have been killed, but which had been kept from all public knowledge for twelve days, until the first troopships were at sea, is to reveal the flimsy nature of the pretext. And to admit that the alleged clash took place "south" of Ualual—a spot on all maps, except those put out by Italy since December, a hundred miles inside the Abyssinian border—is as much as to admit that the Italian policy is simply that of picking a fight, to be followed by an easy conquest of a rich territory. What it all amounts to is Mussolini's need for a smashing victory somewhere to justify his regime. Since the price for such a victory in Europe is too high, he now seeks it at the expense of Ethiopia. But Italy, and perhaps all Europe, may find that the price even in Ethiopia is higher than is now foreseen.

Congregational Laymen Grow Concerned

READERS of The Christian Century will remember that the Congregational-Christian churches at Oberlin last summer created a Council for social action, and gave it the ranking of a major department of the church. It will also be recalled that the Oberlin gathering drafted a series of resolutions favoring the abolition of the capitalist system and the profit motive. Now appears from the pen of a Mr. Frank Barrows a pamphlet entitled "A Layman's Concern at the Council for Social Action." The title is self-explanatory. The laymen of the denomination are becoming aware that something happened at Oberlin, and are wondering how it all came about. Some of them are disturbed at the discovery that the same people who fought for the creation of the Council for social action also wrote most of the disturbing economic resolutions, and drove them through the general council. Their leaders, moreover, for the most part now constitute the secretariat of the new department. Mr. Barrows has set out to discover whether or not the Council for social action considers the resolutions a mandate from the general council. His fears are undoubtedly exaggerated, for

the nature of Congregational polity would make a mandate, or even an authorization from a legal point of view, practically meaningless. In other words this new body has no mandate, but it does believe that the resolutions have tremendous educational value, and it intends to use them to that end. The conclusion reached by this lay commentator is that the entering wedge of radicalism is threatening to divide the Congregational churches. Whether or not this assumption is correct, it is nevertheless significant that one influential denomination speaks without hesitation, and puts into official position a body of men and women who organize as though they mean business.

Unitarian Laymen May Be At Ease

THE UNITARIANS have been more wary than their Congregational-Christian brethren. They too have a "Program of Social Action," but its authors make it very plain that they speak only for themselves. Their statement, just released, is being widely circulated among the churches, and is to be studied and discussed until May. It is then to be submitted to the American Unitarian association for acceptance, modification, or rejection, but in the meantime it need cause no Unitarian layman a single sleepless night. It is just as cautious and conciliatory as the Congregational-Christian declaration is radical and divisive. It "is fully aware that the issues involved . . . are controversial," and that "sincere men and women differ widely in their opinions concerning them." It observes that "all the facts are not available." It declares for the world court, for the League of Nations, and for the abandonment of economic imperialism. It recognizes the insecurity of our economic system and advocates social insurance, pensions, and a minimum wage. It recommends a "further development of governmental control and ownership, particularly of public utilities, transportation, banking, coal, and other natural resources," but it would use no coercion to bring this about, and neither would it replace democracy by any other "governmental forms, under whatever name." It has thus provided an adequate safeguard for every emergency at the forthcoming meeting of the association, and brings its statement to a close with the innocuous and now well-known philosophy that "no matter what economic or political system may be developed, and no matter how perfect in theory it may be, its ultimate success will depend on the skill and character of the men and women who operate it."

The President and the A. F. of L. Lock Horns Over Auto Code

THE growing struggle in the automobile industry has just about reached the explosion point, and as a result a serious break between the administration and the A. F. of L. is likewise in the offing. Beginning about a year ago with the Ford strikes, the conflict has now spread along the entire automobile front. In no other industry has competition been more spirited. The growing demand for better cars at lower prices has compelled the manufacturers to bear down on their employes with increasing pressure. Complaints have been coming in thick and fast, and the recent NRA hearings have brought to light ugly facts with regard to code violations, such as long hours, low wages, inhuman working conditions, and forced membership in shop unions. The showdown came when President Roosevelt himself took a hand in the matter and, with but few modifications, extended the present automobile code to June 1935. This code has been a trouble maker from its inception. The A. F. of L. has specified its complaints in no uncertain terms. It objects to Dr. Leo Wolman as chairman of the automobile labor board; it would abolish this board and carry its disputes directly to the national labor relations board; it would eliminate the "merit clause" in the code which confers on the automobile industry a way of getting around section 7a, and it demands that it shall be consulted in the drawing up of the codes. These specific demands bring into bold relief the heart of the labor struggle. Whereas section 7a provides the right of organizing and collective bargaining, that right, labor claims, has been denied through the demands of the manufacturers that the men join shop unions rather than labor unions of their own choice. Most of labor's other grievances could be settled if this one basic right were safeguarded by the NRA code. Once that is accomplished the smoke and dust of battle will subside for the time being, even in the automobile world. But not until then.

The Newspaper Industry Faces a Guild War

THE newspaper industry has become involved in a labor dispute of its own; its laborers in this instance being none other than the reporters and special writers themselves. The American Newspaper guild has grown in a little more than a year into a powerful organization of about 10,000 members. When first organized in December 1933 it was cordially received in official Washington, and even the publishers were not unfriendly. Now all this has changed. Using labor union methods the guild has leaped into a series of notable activities. First it came to the defense of Dean Jennings, a San Francisco reporter who was dismissed from a Hearst paper. It carried the fight to the labor relations board, and lost. This turned out to be a sort of trial case, but all pretensions to cordiality have now been laid aside, and the publishers are resorting to opposition both legal and economic. They have counted on the newspaper industrial board for some measure of support, but the Jennings case has weakened their confidence in this procedure. At the moment both sides in the controversy are sparring for an advantage. The guild has set for its objective the improvement of working conditions for reporters, and the right to organize. It has invoked section 7a of the NRA code which guarantees that "employes shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the inter-

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ference, restraint, or coercion of employers . . . or their agents." The militant radicalism of many of the leaders and members of the guild will throw an interesting sidelight on the tactics which the industry will use in its fight on organized labor. It is also worth remembering that a powerful white-collar group has now definitely aligned itself with the objectives of the labor movement. But the crux of this struggle, precisely as in the case of the automobile war, is the issue as to whether wage and salary earners have a right to bargain collectively for their interests. At this point the fight along the entire labor front will have to be won or lost.

Will the New European Pact Insure Peace?

AS the passage of time has made possible more careful study of the agreement between France and Great Britain, it has become clear that the statement made in these pages a week ago was correct—the heart of the whole thing is the new air pact. In fact, everything else in the agreement is of such minor importance —including even the acceptance of Germany's rearming—as to constitute only a verbal husk in which to wrap the vital sentences on the future use of air fleets. And although the full details of the air agreement are still hidden from the public, and may continue so, there is no longer any confusion as to the main purpose which the French and British governments have in view. The agreement reached at London last week is simply a transferring to the air of the old statecraft of imposing peace through a balance of power. As such, it is another milestone in history. It recognizes that the decisive arm in battle is no longer military or naval, but aeronautic. Europe now waits tensely the reply of Germany to the invitation to join this air pact. Will the nazis come in or stay out? Either way, the working of the pact is not likely to be much affected. It will attempt to hold Europe at peace by threatening that "unprovoked aerial aggression" will bring down on the aggressor "immediate" aerial punishment from the forces of the signatory nation or nations not attacked. Will the plan work? It certainly should ease the present European tension temporarily, for—to put it bluntly—General Göring's enthusiasm for an air raid against Paris may be dampened when he is forced to provide for a simultaneous raid against London if Berlin is not to be destroyed. But in the long run this new way of enforcing peace will not be found any more dependable than the old ways of balancing army and navy power. Permanent peace depends not on balance of power, but on justice.

Stresses and Strains Inside Germany

WHILE Hitler wrestles with the political problem which has been created for him by the conclusion of the Franco-British agreement he must be conscious of the rapid development of other difficulties inside the reich. In his proclamation celebrating his second anniversary as chancellor, Hitler claimed that he had already accomplished two-thirds of the program of economic rehabilitation which he espoused on taking office. Although it is difficult to discover what the economic program was which *der Führer* adopted two years ago—a difficulty which applies to practically all aspects of the program of one who is more successful in exhibiting his oratorical powers than in precisely defining his objectives—it may be surmised that, in claiming this two-thirds victory, he had in mind the decrease in unemployment and the increase in the output of heavy industries. Yet with regard to both these gains there are certain qualifying factors to be taken into account. Although the number of the unemployed has dropped since 1932, so have nominal wages (which stood at 163 marks per worker during the third quarter of 1934 as compared with 173 marks in 1932), while the indexes of wholesale prices and of the cost of living have both risen. More people are working, but they are receiving lower wages, and they must spend more to live. Moreover, the gain in the heavy industries is largely in terms of steel output—in other words, war materials—while the export trade has fallen away to such an extent that a favorable trade balance of 1,073 million marks in 1932 has been transformed into an unfavorable balance of 240 million marks in 1934. If Dr. Schacht, the new economic dictator, has it in him to produce any economic miracles such figures indicate that they had better not be delayed much longer. Meanwhile, perhaps even more annoyance may be caused the *Reichsführer* by his growing difficulty with Julius Streicher. For Streicher is not only a fanatical anti-semite; he is fanatically devoted to the whole cult of the Nordic superman. Consequently he disagrees violently with the present attempt of the Berlin government to cultivate close relations with Tokyo. Jew or Japanese, they are equally anathema to Streicher. But Streicher is too important a figure to be silenced out of hand.

Hold Up Naval Contracts!

NO matter what permanent legislation may result from the senate investigation of the armament industry, there is one step the government should take immediately. It should hold up the granting of all contracts for the building of warships, with the exception of contracts which may be awarded to the government's own yards. Where contracts have been awarded but construction not begun, operations should be suspended. Not a dollar of the nation's money should be spent on naval shipbuilding until it has been clearly proved that this business, avowedly a patriotic effort to provide for the national defense, is not in reality a sordid racket conducted in such a way as to mulct the public while pouring millions into the pockets of a little clique of insiders.

It is true that the charges which the senate committee is developing against the principal shipbuilding firms have not been legally proved. So malodorous,

however, has become the testimony recently presented to the Nye committee, and so many are the indications of perjury, that certain parts of the record, it is reported, are about to be turned over to the prosecuting authorities for court action. (It is to be hoped that, if such a move is made, the senate committee will not rely on the services of the present attorney-general or his staff. A weaker administration of the department of justice the nation has seldom seen.) But the government should not wait for the slow working out of court actions before intervening in this situation. Testimony of the most circumstantial sort, backed by numbers of witnesses and innumerable documents, has shown that there is at least reason to suspect that warship building, as at present carried on, is a means of raiding the federal treasury in the interest of private profiteers. Until such suspicions have been dissipated the government is under obligation to its taxpaying citizens to see that all payments to the suspected corporations are stopped.

There are at least five specific allegations contained in recent testimony before the Nye committee which should be pursued to the ultimate facts and either proved or disproved before another penny of public money is devoted to naval construction. If any one of the five is proved true, that should be sufficient to void present contracts. If all, or a majority, of the five are sustained, that should produce a revolution in the handling of naval building contracts. What are these five allegations?

1. It is alleged that there is collusion in bidding on naval construction among the "big three" of the shipbuilding companies—the New York, the Bethlehem, and the Newport News corporations. Former officers of one of those companies have testified that it has been their common practice to acquaint each other with the bids which they intended to make on warships, and that they have so arranged these bids as to insure the splitting up of the available government contracts on a basis agreed on among the supposedly competitive firms. So complete has been this connivance that a former president of the New York company is alleged to have been able to deposit with officers of a national trade union a forecast that proved to be 100 per cent accurate regarding the complete bids of the three companies at the time of the most recent awarding of contracts for naval building!

Three alleged facts in connection with this charge of collusion require further investigation. First, there is the charge of collusion in itself—something which is out of accord with both the letter and the spirit of the law. If past bidding has been conducted as alleged, then present contracts are tainted with fraud. Second, there is the charge made by certain witnesses that this collusion enabled the "big three" to run up the prices of the cruiser contracts let in 1933 by almost 50 per cent without any corresponding increase in costs of materials or labor. Third, there is the charge made by certain witnesses that officers of the navy and officials of the navy department have been cognizant of what has been going on, and have entered no objections. Is the government to go on pouring out millions in contracts let to these companies while such charges as these remain?

2. It is alleged that the "big three" have used political influence to strangle possible competition from shipyards outside their own monopoly. The testimony given in this respect by Mr. Clinton L. Bardo, president of the National association of manufacturers and former president of the New York shipbuilding company, was most illuminating. Mr. Bardo was an extremely reluctant witness; he refused to sign a waiver of immunity covering his acts as president of the New York firm during the period not already outlawed by the statute of limitations. Yet he was finally forced to admit authorship of a series of about twenty letters written to Governor (now Senator) A. Harry Moore of New Jersey, other public officials and officers of the two other firms in the "big three." These letters sought to block the granting of an RFC loan to the Gulf shipbuilding company of Florida which would have put that company in a position to bid on the cruiser contracts of 1933. On Mr. Bardo's insistence, the correspondence indicates, Governor Moore carried the matter to Postmaster General Farley, who promised action. Finally it was carried to President Roosevelt, who reassured Governor Moore. The governor thereupon reassured Mr. Bardo; the RFC loan was not granted; the "big three" were left in monopolistic possession of the cruiser-building field. It is the continuation of this monopoly, testimony before the senate committee implies, which is responsible for the unjustified profits made by the three companies.

3. It is alleged that a high-powered lobby has been conducted by the shipbuilding interests at Washington which has been able to shape marine legislation to suit the ends of the companies, the enormous costs of the lobby being added to the prices charged the government for ships. One witness, the treasurer of the New York concern, frankly testified that "wines and liquors are just as necessary in shipbuilding as steel," and that the "general jamborees" held by his firm on trial trips of vessels had proved "very educational" for congressmen and senators who were the guests of the firm. This explanation was made in defending the practice of the shipbuilders in charging to the government such attempts to debauch public officials. One lobbyist, another former president of the New York firm, testified that he had been given $235,000 by the shipbuilders in 1929 for use in Washington, and told of payments to a long list of professors, newspaper men and others to aid in securing desired appropriations. Other testimony, as was mentioned in these columns last week, has concerned the alleged operations of a "fixer" high in political and legal circles, and the charge that there was a direct connection between the fee paid this man and the awarding of contracts to shipbuilding firms outside the "big three." These charges, it should be said again, are as yet no more than charges. But until they are disproved it would be a betrayal of public trust to continue to turn over public funds to the firms involved.

4. It is alleged that the "big three" have had sufficient power inside the navy department to force the

use of United States warships to demonstrate and sell their products. Readers will remember the way in which early testimony before the Nye committee showed that gun manufacturers had been able to make the government send a warship to Istanbul in order to demonstrate their product to the Turks. Now it is claimed that the shipbuilders have been able to use the navy in the same way to aid in garnering building orders from Brazil. Testimony before the committee not only showed a United States ambassador, Mr. Hugh Gibson, complaining of the "truculent demands" made by a vice-president of the New York firm, but when Mr. Gibson proved finicky over ordering a warship to Brazil in order to increase the profits of this member of the "big three," Mr. Bardo admitted that he was able to induce Admiral William H. Standley to give the necessary orders which made United States cruisers, in effect, a part of the selling force of the New York corporation. Will the government continue to be complaisant in the face of this suspicion that its armed forces are at the disposal of private firms seeking to boost their own profits?

5. It is alleged that the allocation of PWA funds to naval building purposes has been at the bottom of spectacular stock manipulations involving the control of at least one of the "big three." Testimony on this point has still to be developed beyond its initial stages, and the Nye committee is finding it difficult to locate and subpoena key witnesses. But the Wall street record of the New York shipbuilding company has certainly been an unusual one in a period of general market stagnation. And the maneuvers by which this company finally passed into the hands of the Cord interests, if they had no connection with anticipations of an impending PWA grant to build warships, at least came at such a coincidental time as to give rise to unfortunate suspicions. While those suspicions remain, payment of PWA funds to the corporation involved should be held up. The administration cannot afford to remain in any degree a partner in any deal which lies under the shadow of making either the national defense or the expenditure of public funds an incident of Wall street speculation.

In the light of the recent development of the armament investigation, therefore, there is only one decent thing to be done with regard to naval building contracts. For the time being no more contracts, except to government yards, should be awarded. Contracts already awarded but on which actual construction has not started should be suspended. The entire business of naval construction should be held up until the nation as a whole is absolutely assured that it is to be conducted honestly, efficiently and without lining the pockets of a clique of racketeering insiders. The administration should see the necessity for taking this step immediately. The navy, always so publicly jealous of its honor, should insist on an immediate and convincing clearing up of this whole situation. Yes, and the shipbuilding companies, if they have a spark of commercial decency, should voluntarily submit their past contracts to scrutiny and revision and agree that no more shall be awarded until the circumstances surrounding such awards are capable of sustaining the most searching inquiry.

If the administration, the navy, and the shipbuilders refuse to take this obvious step in protection of the public interest, then the nation as a whole must be roused to speak.

Heaven Was His Destination

IF the charge were brought against him that he has written a tract in "Heaven's My Destination," Mr. Thornton Wilder would doubtless repel the calumny with righteous indignation. Good novelists never preach, and Mr. Wilder's rating as a good novelist is unquestioned by any competent critic. So one may argue *a priori* that, whatever else this hilarious and lusty tale may be, it is no homily. Nevertheless, it is permitted to the practitioner of the high art of fiction to have an idea, and the reader may find meaning in a novel without making of it an allegory or an exhortation.

Remembering the classic beauty and restraint of "The Bridge of San Luis Rey" and "The Woman of Andros," and the lofty intricacies of "Cabala," one is shocked into a precipitate judgment that Mr. Wilder has gone lowbrow with a crash in "Heaven's My Destination." This is extravaganza, not to say burlesque. This coarse and sometimes profane language, these fantastic episodes, these rowdy characters among whom the central figure moves like a caricature of virtue—what can this be if not a brutal satire upon decency? And yet, if one has patience to note that, however ridiculous George Brush may be in his exaggerated conscientiousness and his simple-minded zeal for shedding sweetness and light over a world that he knows nothing about, he generally wins the confidence even of those who laugh at him most loudly and abuse his innocence most shamefully, and that his sincerity gets him out of all the scrapes that his simplicity gets him into, and that he learns a little sense and loses a little of his naivete as time goes on without surrendering his essential ideals, it begins to appear that this book is written in praise of idealism, not in scorn of it.

In form and method, and to some degree in style, "Heaven's My Destination" derives from the tradition of the picaresque novel—that early form of fiction which narrated, in detached episodes, the escapades of a rascal, and found its unity not in plot but in the presence of the same character as the leading actor in every scene. But here the values are reversed. The central figure is not a rascal but a youth of preternatural piety and aggressive innocence. This is a positive picture printed from the negatives of "Tom Jones" and "Don Juan."

George Brush was a traveling salesman selling textbooks to school boards. Heaven was his destination, but Ludington, Michigan, was his home town, Kansas City was his headquarters, and Oklahoma, Kansas and Texas was his territory. He was a graduate—with highest honors, as he modestly recounts from time to

time—of some tiny denominational college in the hinterland more untouched by the influences of modernity than any actual college in this generation could possibly be. But after his conversion he had been accounted so queer even at this college that, in spite of his physical, academic, vocal and elocutionary gifts, he could not get elected to a literary society. He realized that there must be something the matter either with himself or with the world and, though his simple faith knew no shadow of doubt, he was not egotist enough to hold himself entirely blameless. So he pursued systematically such courses of self-culture as would naturally occur to a youth of his limited outlook and sought diligently for "contacts" by which he could be either helped or helpful. But always he must bear witness to his faith, succor the distressed, combat evil only by love and gentleness, and prove to himself and to all men that the true Christian is the happiest man in the world. He was a brawny pacifist with a perpetual smile and a good tenor voice. An attractive young lady, otherwise eligible for his affections, was disqualified by her belief in evolution.

Given sufficient aggressiveness on the part of such a character and sufficient ingenuity in the mind of the author—both of which conditions are abundantly realized in this story—and diverting embarrassments may be counted on to occur in rapid succession. They do. George draws his money from a bank because he has decided that saving shows fear, and fear means lack of faith; he refuses to accept the interest due, because interest is sinful; he is arrested on suspicion, and his general declaration of the immorality of the whole banking business is misinterpreted as a criticism of this particular bank, which was in fact shaky, and precipitates a run that wrecks the bank. Restoring his soul by a day of voluntary fasting and silence, his kindliness overflows in a burst of sign-language to a child and he is arrested for attempted kidnaping. He practices *ahimsa* on a burglar, with limited success for he is charged with being an accomplice.

And so on through a dazzling succession of such tragi-comic adventures as are possible only to one in whom goodness and good will run wild and rampant without the disciplining restraints of good sense and a normal knowledge of the ways of the world. For George Brush, every goose is a swan and every maid a queen. He is another kind of "fool of God," without the dignity of suffering and without Jacopone's gift of lyric madness. He is a daring young man on the flying trapeze of virtue and idealism, but without the skill to put on a successful performance. He is a modern Don Quixote of innocence, kindness and simple faith.

And yet—it has already been said in saying that he is a Don Quixote—he is the hero of the tale, not the butt of the joke. To say that virtue is triumphant is to reduce the matter to too simple and trite a formula. George gets himself thoroughly and deservedly laughed at, by the readers of the book as he was by his associates in it, and all sorts of people practice upon his innocence. But he succeeds. His customers buy his textbooks. A perfectly hard-boiled newspaper man, who had kicked and cursed him, dying leaves his little girl in his care. A girl who had hated and shunned him marries him in despair of getting rid of him in any other way. The judge before whom he is tried for kidnaping and burglary speeds him out of town (to save embarrassment) with a handshake and an invitation to call on him if he ever gets into trouble again. ("Thanks, judge, but I don't know what you mean by trouble.") And the sophisticated movie-director who was his jail-mate for a night escapes the net which the law had, mistakenly perhaps, cast over him only by the interecession of the poor fool whose simplicity he had scorned. In the end, he sheds some of his folly and makes some adjustment to the realities, but he does not lose his inner soundness.

No, George Brush is not a boob. There is too much consistency and sincerity in him for that. There is a core of sanity and spiritual health under the absurdities that lie upon the surface. If one did not shrink from deriving a dictum from a work of creative art, it might be written that what Mr. Wilder is saying in this book is that it is more important to have integrity and courage and good will than to be clever and sophisticated. Virtuous and believing men may make themselves ridiculous by their unintelligence, but virtue and faith can never be ridiculous. From the opera bouffe incidents of his injudicious campaign for righteousness, Don Quixote's not-too-distant cousin, George Brush, rises to a dignity of which his follies and failures give no initial promise. The man who has in him something greater than himself cannot permanently remain an object of contempt.

Cervantes laughed chivalry from the lists with Don Quixote, but if he had done no more than that his book would have died when chivalry died. But the white soul of the shabby and preposterous knight of La Mancha shines through the joints of his ridiculous armor, and through the fabric of fantastic ideas in which he had wrapped himself. He might mistake a milkmaid for a princess and ludicrously practice in the barnyard the forms of etiquette appropriate only in the court, but gradually it dawns upon those who read and laugh that they are in the presence of one who, with all his want of worldly wits, has a loftier and more courtly spirit than their own. Amid the guffaws of all beholders, the whirling wings of the windmill that he charged swept the tawdry unrealities of knight errantry into the mire—and Don Quixote to the stars.

Lines for a Sun Dial

WHAT is the fleet year's dividend?
The withered leaf, the tearing briar!
For bud and flower and fruit are gone
Consumed in autumn's faggot-fire,
And only the opal embers glowing.
Scatter the ashes. This is the end
Of loveliness. All we can call our own
Is the wind above a blackened stone
Blowing . . . Blowing. . . .

JOHN RICHARD MORELAND.

A Christian Revolution

By Kirby Page

SHOULD Christians adopt the strategy of reform or that of revolution? My own answer is unqualified: True followers of Jesus must be revolutionists, revolutionists who refrain utterly from warlike methods but who insist upon deep-rooted, fundamental changes in individuals and in society. One has only to contrast the Christian ideal with the actual facts of contemporary society to realize that revolution is needed. The ideal of the kingdom of God requires that radical changes be made in countless areas of modern life. Reforms in the war system are not enough. It is not sufficient to reduce armaments by half or even by nine-tenths. International society must be revolutionized, that is, the war system must be ended and a peace system erected in its place. The prevailing system of race relations between white people and Negroes must not only be reformed, it must be revolutionized. It is not enough to provide schools for Negroes equal to those used by white people, or to supplant Negro shanties with satisfactory homes. Society must be revolutionized so that the entire system of segregation shall be replaced by one based on recognition of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, irrespective of race, nationality or class. Every time we pray the Lord's prayer, with discernment and sincerity, we are praying for revolutionary changes to be made in the present social order.

Capitalism Cannot be Reformed

The necessity of economic revolution as a phase in the creation of the divine society on the earth may readily be demonstrated. When the family of God becomes a reality the chief motivation behind economic activity will be concern for the common good, the primary method will be mutual cooperation, and the proceeds of common toil will be distributed according to need or on a basis of substantial equality of economic privilege. Self-interest, the competitive struggle, and the extremes of luxury and poverty are irreconcilable with the religion of Jesus. So long as private property in the chief means of production and distribution is retained, the competitive struggle with its devastating consequences for the individual and for society will be perpetuated. Under the system of private property the abolition of competition can be followed only by monopolistic domination on the part of the most powerful financiers and industrialists, with even more terrifying results for the common people. So we are damned by competition and even more fatally damned by monopoly. If the incentives, methods and results of capitalism are reformed sufficiently to bring the system of economic individualism into conformity with the ideals of Jesus, it will no longer resemble what we call individualism. Surely it is confusing to retain an old word to describe a radically different economic system. Capitalism cannot be reformed sufficiently; it must be replaced with a different economic order.

By what means? And at what pace? By methods that are consistent with the ends sought and at the fastest possible speed. So far as revolutionizing capitalism is concerned there are three aspects to the Christian strategy: evangelism, education and compulsion. Loyalties must be shifted and attitudes changed, minds must be illumined, and institutions must be transformed through social pressure. Conversion will always remain central in Christian efforts to build the kingdom of God. Conviction of sin, penitence for wrongdoing, and fruits of contrition are absolutely essential. That education is part of the process of social change is universally recognized. All the agencies of secular and religious education must be utilized in the endeavor to dispel myths and fallacies and to open eyes to the significance of various alternatives. The imperative need for evangelism and education will not be questioned in religious circles. The divine society can be achieved only by redeemed individuals.

The Need for Compulsion

In abolishing private property in the chief means of production and distribution and in establishing a new system of socialized property, instruments of social compulsion must be used. The all-important question takes this form: Can we succeed in applying the pressure required without resorting to warlike means of coercion? Is non-warlike revolution possible? My own answer is an unqualified affirmative, although I do not say that success is highly probable, much less certain. A triple organization is required if sufficient pressure is to be exerted—workers must be organized in national unions; consumers must be organized in national cooperative societies; and voters must be organized in a national political party primarily concerned with the socialization of the chief means of production and distribution, and with the approximate equalization of economic privilege.

Private property in the mass instruments of production should be socialized by purchase rather than by confiscation. Present owners should be given bonds based on the fair value of the property purchased which would yield an income for a fixed period, say thirty years. After the coal mines, for example, have been socialized through purchase by congress, a national board of directors of the coal industry would be set up, composed of representatives of engineers, miners and consumers of coal. That is to say, the mines would be operated by the people who are best equipped and who have most at stake in the industry. Above the boards of directors of various socialized industries would be a central board of directors, or national planning commission, composed of representatives of technicians, workers and consumers.

How far should the socialization of industry be carried, and how rapidly should the transformation be wrought? My own conviction is that a sharp differen-

tiation should be made in various types of property. There should be much *more* private property in consumers goods—food, clothing, homes, etc.; there should be *less* private property in the mass instruments of production; and there should be *experimentation* with border-line types—small factories, retail stores, etc. Strategic industries should be socialized in somewhat the following order: banking, sources of electric energy, minerals and other natural resources, chief means of transportation and communication, and steel. As rapidly as possible—that is, as rapidly as evangelism, education and non-warlike compulsion can be made effective—these basic industries should be socialized. Experience must then decide how much farther to go with the process of socialization.

What Chance Has Pacific Revolution?

Is there any chance that a program of pacific socialization can be carried through successfully in the face of ruthless opposition from vested interests? Emphatically yes, although the odds are heavily against us. Capitalism from now on will be confronted with less and less favorable conditions for its functioning. Economic individualism is best adapted to pioneer conditions, at a time of expanding production, when population is increasing rapidly. The profit motive and the competitive struggle are more productive and less destructive on the frontier than in the city. Maldistribution of income becomes more devastating with increasing complexity and interdependence. The consolidation of financial and industrial power in the hands of a small section of the people leads inevitably to more and more intense congestion of money, side by side with tragic lack of purchasing power on the part of the masses. The consequent progressive disintegration of capitalism is the strongest asset of the movement for revolutionary change. Without this diminished ability of individualism to provide adequately for the needs of the people, there would be less chance of bringing about radical changes.

The power of the owning class will be restricted not only by the diminishing effectiveness of capitalism, but also by the growing strength of organized labor, organized consumers and organized voters. National unions embracing a considerable proportion of the workers in a given industry are able to exert terrific power in the determination of the relative levels of wages, dividends and interest. To the degree that organized labor is strong, the power of owners is decreased. Likewise, a powerful consumers cooperative movement helps to maintain an equitable balance between prices and profits, and thereby decreases the power of owners and investors. To the extent that a political party bent upon socialization is supported by a substantial majority of the voters, it will be able to utilize the powers of government in diminishing the power of ownership.

There is no doubt that if the workers, consumers and voters can be organized on a sufficiently powerful scale in behalf of an adequate program of socialization, revolution can be wrought pacifically. But how is this triple organization to be brought about in the face of terrific and ruthless opposition from vested interests? The owning class controls the press, the radio, the movies, and exercises dominant influence over education and organized religion. What chance, therefore, do advocates of revolutionary changes have in the face of this opposition? If we say, "No chance," then we might as well eat, drink and be merry for the deluge will soon overwhelm us. If we think there is a chance, then we must answer these questions: Which strategy of revolution is most likely to succeed? And which one is most consistent with the ends sought?

Pronounced emphasis should be placed upon the fact that non-warlike revolutionists do not face as heavy odds as do revolutionists who are preparing to seize power through civil war. The latter cannot succeed unless they change the minds of vast numbers of workers and until they are able to forge instruments of power mightier than those wielded by the owning class. How are they to succeed in the face of unrelenting opposition from vested interests? Is their task easier than that of pacific revolutionists? The evidence from many countries is cumulatively convincing. In no nation where conditions are at all comparable with those existing in the United States have violent revolutionists been able to win enough support to capture power, and in no country, except in soviet Russia where comparisons are so utterly misleading, does there seem to be any probability that within the measurable future will the owning class be expropriated by violence. This observation, even if valid, does not, of course, prove that non-violent revolution will succeed. I am merely calling attention to the fact that we are under no obligation to abandon the strategy of non-warlike revolution because the odds against success are heavy. If the superior advantages enjoyed by devotees of the status quo are to paralyze us into impotence, then, of course, no strategy of revolution can succeed. All the significant reforms and revolutions of history have been wrought in the face of terrific opposition.

Violence and Non-Violence

It is highly imperative that we recognize the impossibility of combining effectively the strategies of violent revolution and non-warlike revolution. If the former is adopted and announced there is little chance of success in countries like the United States and Great Britain. While the British labor party has achieved enormous power with its program of non-violent revolution, the British communist party has enrolled only 5,000 members, is without a single member of parliament, and has only one or two members of municipal authorities. I am convinced that in the United States the communist party has only the remotest chance of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a communist society. Its strategy of seizing power by violence and of preserving the revolution by proletarian dictatorship backed with instruments of terror will never be accepted by vast sections of the American people. The skilled workers, the semi-skilled workers, the middle class, small proprietors, professional men, and above all rural people are in overwhelming proportions opposed to civil war as a means of seeking a new social

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order. More than half the members of the communist party are drawn from the ranks of the unemployed, while only a tiny fraction of them are employed in basic industries.

Making Defeat Certain

If American revolutionists desire to make certain their own defeat and annihilation, let them announce that, while they prefer pacific means, they are prepared if necessary to take up the weapons of armed battle. The very enunciation of such a procedure will make it impossible to fulfil the conditions of successful revolution through non-violence. A radical political party which announces that it has no expectation of coming into power through votes but that it will be compelled to seize power by violence, will never receive a mandate from the electorate of the United States. Conservative groups can advocate violent suppression of radicals without alienating their support, but revolutionary parties cannot hope to secure enough votes to win control of government if they threaten to use warlike means of capturing power.

Therefore it is imperative that non-warlike revolutionists refrain from entering into a united front with communist or communistic groups, or with other organizations that sanction or advocate the use of armed violence in seeking to abolish capitalism. If an individual is convinced that revolution cannot be carried through without the armed seizure of power, then it is logical for him to seek a united front with communists, although even in this case he may hesitate because of other aspects of the communist program. But it appears to me crystal clear that the cause of non-warlike revolution is weakened rather than strengthened by a united front with communists.

Let us consider this matter in its simplest form. Suppose officials of the communist party should suggest to the officials of a religious organization which is seeking revolutionary changes through non-violent means that a united front be established in behalf of more substantial benefits for the unemployed and for the maintenance of civil liberties of strikers. That is to say, suppose the united front is confined to specific objectives upon which both groups are in complete agreement. Would it not be wise to form a united front for this limited purpose? My answer is emphatically no. Religious groups should exert themselves in behalf of the unemployed and should be zealous in defense of civil liberties, but they merely weaken their efforts when they enter into combinations with communists.

Why Communists Want a Common Front

This position is strengthened by an understanding of the purpose of communists in seeking a united front. Consider, for example, their advocacy of the League Against War and Fascism. Do they really believe that it is possible to prevent international war unless capitalism is abolished? Certainly not. Their spokesmen are emphatic on this point. They are dogmatic in their assertion that so long as capitalism exists international war is inevitable. They are equally unequivocal in their statements about the duty of communists in the event of international war. Such a war, they say, must be transformed into a civil war for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A hundred official statements to this effect can easily be assembled. Likewise, do communists really believe that fascism can be prevented unless the workers seize power by violence? Here also communist leaders are frank. They maintain that the only defense against war and fascism is furnished by armed seizure of power. Why then do they invite pacifist groups and other religious agencies to enter into a united front? Their avowed purpose is to strengthen the movement for the armed overthrow of capitalism. Communists have nothing but contempt for religion and for pacifism. They use the united front as a means of boring from within.

The L.A.W.F.

The fact that the League Against War and Fascism has recently established a religious section and is now seeking to enrol ministers and other religious leaders makes it imperative that the true nature of this organization be understood. That communists and near-communists were prominent in its formation, that communists and near-communists now exercise considerable influence over its activities, that communists and near-communists have constituted a heavy proportion of the personnel of its annual and regional conferences —these are unquestioned facts. It is true that non-communists also were active in the formation of the league and that they are now playing an important rôle in its activities. Furthermore it is true that some peace agencies are officially represented on its committees. But it is conspicuously true that the socialist party has refused to participate and that the Student League for industrial democracy has likewise refused to enter into a united front with the National Student league, which is dominated by communists. The S.P. and the S.L.I.D. have sanctioned a limited united front in local communities on specific issues under drastic restrictions.

The first chairman of the League Against War and Fascism was J. B. Matthews, who is frank in saying that he is nearer to the communist party than to any other political group in this country. The present chairman is Harry F. Ward. He is not a member of the communist party, but one is fully warranted in saying that he is communistically inclined. Professor Ward's colleague, Miss Winifred Chappell, signed a manifesto urging citizens to support the communist candidate for President of the United States. Communist party members have from the beginning been active in the league and are still in the forefront. If religious leaders desire to cooperate with the League Against War and Fascism they should do so with their eyes open. They are entering an organization in which communists and near-communists are playing a dominant rôle. This is an incontestable truth.

By way of summary: True Christians must be revolutionists; they cannot be satisfied with reforms, but are obliged to seek radical changes in the present eco-

nomic order. They must be non-warlike revolutionists, repudiating utterly the strategy of armed seizure of power. The odds against success are heavy, but are less formidable for non-warlike revolutionists than for violent revolutionists. The two strategies cannot effectively be combined. Therefore pacifist revolutionists should refrain from entering into a united front with communists and near-communists. For this reason religious pacifists should work through agencies other than the League Against War and Fascism. The problem of the Christian in seeking to build the kingdom of God on earth is to find a strategy which is at the same time realistically revolutionary and resolutely non-warlike.

Is Zionism Going Fascist?

By Louis Minsky

AT no other time in modern Jewish history has Palestine been so much in the consciousness of Jews. For this there are a variety of reasons. Undoubtedly the Zionist ideal has made much headway among American Jews, but this is not the most important cause of the current interest in Palestine. American Zionism is at most an abstract longing; the number of active Zionists constitute a small fraction of the total Jewish population of this country. To many Jews Zionism is a sentimental and romantic ideal rooted in the past gloriousness of Jewish history; its attachments are mainly cultural and religious. Few American Zionists expect to settle in Palestine and even the Zionist Organization of America holds no illusions with respect to any considerable movement of American Jews to the Jewish national homeland.

American Jewish interest in Palestine centers largely in getting Jews of other countries into Palestine, notably the Jews of eastern Europe to whom emigration to Palestine is at once the fulfilment of a religious ideal and the only practical method of escaping from a life of economic degradation and social oppression. It has been these Jews—the oppressed of Poland, Rumania and other eastern European countries—who have made up the bulk of settlers in Palestine, and Zionist activity in western lands has been concentrated mainly on opening the gates of Palestine as far as possible to permit the greatest number of such Jews to enter the country within the limitations imposed by the mandatory power.

A Haven for German Exiles

Since the advent to power of Hitler in Germany Palestine has become important for another reason. It has provided a haven for a large number of refugees escaping from the Hitler terror. Since January 1933 over 20,000 German Jews have settled in Palestine. Thousands of others are awaiting the first opportunity to embark for the Jewish homeland. The Jewish agency for Palestine has importuned the British government for an increase in the number of immigration certificates in response to the crying demand of German Jews anxious to escape from the misery of nazi Germany.

With the influx of German Jews has also come an influx of capital and of prosperity. These German Jews did not bring all the capital or the prosperity, but they helped considerably. Prosperity has been rising in Palestine for a number of years. Capital has been pouring in from all over the world. Since 1920 no less than $300,000,000 has been invested in the country. Real estate values have rocketed enormously. Labor is scarce. Citrus exports are good. Palestine is today perhaps the only really prosperous country in the world.

It is this prosperity which is the cause of the intense interest in Palestine manifested at the present moment by the Jews of America. American Jews—or the serious and the thinking among them—are afraid of this prosperity, or at least of the direction it is taking. They are afraid that it is going to be the same sort of prosperity as in western capitalist countries, which will be followed sooner or later by the same sort of collapse. They are afraid that Palestine may develop the same class conflicts, the same exploitation of labor, the same aggrandizement of the profit motive which is to be found in every other country.

Palestine as a Social Experiment

Which brings us to what is perhaps the fundamental reason for the universal Jewish interest in Palestine. Palestine in a sense represents an experimental station for a new society, built upon the errors and injustices of the old order. Here is pioneer territory, a new country being erected by Jews of many lands. Will these Jews profit by their experience of the hideous injustices and brutalities of modern society, or will they allow this new state to go the way of all other economic orders? Will they build a cooperative society based upon production for use, in which social justice will be the underlying ideal, or will they create the same old capitalistic order dedicated to honoring the profit motive?

The ideal of social justice and the cooperative society is one which is held by the majority of Zionists. In Palestine this ideal is represented in the Histadruth, the most politically significant party in the Jewish homeland. It is a socialist-labor organization of some 60,000 members, practically one-third of the Jewish population. The dominant ideal of the party is that there shall be no exploitation of one man by another. Its most revered philosopher is A. Gordon, who taught that the Jew could build a just society only when he had successfully crushed selfishness out of his soul.

The Histadruth has its own school system, its own hospitals and visiting nurses association, its own cooperative buying and selling agencies, home loan associations, and its own banks. It watches the legislation of the country to see that taxes are put where they can most equitably be met. It has even begun to organize Arab laborers into unions because of its conviction that only by so doing can the general standard of living be maintained. A comparison with the continental socialist parties and with the trade union movement in general reveals that the Histadruth has developed in a short twenty years the most complete body of socialistic institutions in the history of labor.

Building Without Exploitation

This ideal of the Histadruth is supported by the majority of Zionists in this country. At the national conference on Palestine held in Washington at the end of last month, and attended by representatives of 52 national Jewish organizations, the social justice message was stressed repeatedly. Said Mr. Maurice Samuel, the author: "We don't want a Palestine in which men can make millions of dollars in the turnover of real estate. We don't want a Palestine in which the forefront is occupied by men who can achieve worldly success. If Zionism means anything at all, it means an alliance with those men and women who know how to build a country, but don't know how to accumulate fortunes. If your belief in a Jewish future is real, then the preponderance of your interests will go to the man who is competent in building and incompetent in selfishness."

This goal of building a new society in Palestine explains the increasing interest of the reform rabbinate in Zionism. It is not so long ago that Isaac M. Wise, one of the founders of Reform Judaism in America, termed Zionism an "idiosyncrasy of late immigrants from Europe." Nowadays, the reform rabbi who is an out-and-out anti-Zionist is a rare creature. In fact, the organized reform rabbinate of this country has just taken a step which has reversed history entirely. Two hundred and forty-one rabbis of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, out of a total active membership of 350, have signed a statement endorsing the Palestine labor movement represented in the Histadruth. This step is momentous for two reasons: it reverses the historic anti-Zionist position of reform Judaism, and it puts the majority of the organized reform rabbinate behind the labor movement for a socialized economy in Palestine as against the competitive system.

Rabbis Demand Social Justice

This history-making statement is the practical application of the social justice principles of the reform rabbinate to the concrete problem of the upbuilding of Palestine. The rabbis have refused to dilly-dally on the question of how social justice can be best achieved. "We believe that the prophetic ideals espoused by liberal Judaism are especially compatible with those of the labor movement in Palestine," the statement reads. "Labor in Palestine strives to build a cooperative rather than a competitive society in the land of our fathers. Its aim is to avoid erecting another social structure resting upon the sands of injustice and inequality. Its purpose is to appraise endeavor by the rule of service to the community rather than private profit. It seeks to secure a decent living standard for all workers. It underlines the importance of the welfare of the many rather than the luxury of the few. It stands upon the principle of the right of labor to bargain collectively. It opposes those who would destroy the very foundation of Jewish Palestine by using cheap labor and exploiting it, rather than paying a living wage to fellow Jews. It is resisting the many who would make Jewish Palestine only another land for the exploitation of the weak, for the building up of a society based upon economic injustice."

Reactionary Forces at Work

The publication of this historic document coincides with the arrival in this country for a lecture tour of Vladmir Jabotinsky, leader of the Zionist revisionists who have been termed the Jewish "fascists" and who are militantly anti-labor. The statement, which was circulated under the auspices of a committee of rabbis headed by Edward L. Israel of Baltimore, former chairman of the social justice commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, has been denounced by a small group of reform rabbis headed by Louis I. Newman of New York as a "trick" to counteract the visit of Jabotinsky. Rabbi Newman, in an attempt to vitiate the effect of the Israel statement, has made public another statement calling for the achievement of social justice through the collaboration of all elements in Palestine and not through the favoring of one element over another.

That the publication of the endorsement of Palestine labor was purposely timed to coincide with the arrival of Jabotinsky is probably true and illustrates more strikingly the determination of the reform rabbis to prevent the growth of Jewish fascism in Palestine. As Rabbi Ferdinand M. Issermann of St. Louis declares in the Modern View: "To an observer of the Zionist scene, it is evident that the principles of fascism and social justice, which are being fought out all over the world, must likewise be fought out within the Zionist movement. That so many rabbis endorsed the Labor League for Palestine is an index of the temper of the American reform rabbinate and its views on social and economic questions."

The struggle between Zionist labor and Zionist revisionism or fascism is intense in Palestine and is becoming more acute throughout the world. Both groups are trying to gain support from Zionist elements. And just as fascism is growing in many countries so Zionist revisionism is making headway and gaining new recruits. The battle within Zionism is as clear-cut as the issue between fascism and social democracy everywhere else. The reform rabbis who have endorsed the Palestine labor movement are not concerned with Zionist party politics as some of their opponents have charged, for they specifically state, "The purpose of this endorsement is not to place our stamp of approval

upon every phase or aspect of the labor movement, but to express our agreement with its principles." The rabbis have simply recognized that the issue between labor and fascism is plain and they have chosen the side of labor. Their endorsement should make many Jews wary of the proposals of Mr. Jabotinsky and remind them that Jewish fascism is just as bad as non-Jewish fascism.

"Next Spring...."

By Paul C. Ellis

WE speak of our part of Iowa as one of the garden spots of the world. No portion of the corn belt is more consistently productive. Our farm homes and buildings do not suffer by comparison with the best. This past year, however, our "garden spot" was almost a desert. There was scarcely enough rain to make the pastures green, even in the spring. Early in the season wells went dry, and many farmers spent their days hauling water for thirsty animals.

Day after day during June and July the burning sun afflicted the countryside. The pastures lay brown and lifeless in the middle of June, and the small grain withered in the fields. Much of it was never cut. The corn "fired" day by day, under the blast of southerly winds. The ears failed to "shoot," and the tassels burned brown. The normally productive alfalfa fields were of little value.

All in all, our particular part of Iowa has seen the most completely devastating crop failure in more than fifty years of agricultural history.

For weeks during the early autumn, the farmers labored early and late to salvage their only supply of feed—the withered, dejected stalks of corn fodder. The feed problem, so clearly foreseen in the autumn, has now become acute.

Overheard at the Ladies Aid

The Ladies Aid society of our little country church meets regularly, the year around. During the winter months the ladies gather during the morning, and spend the day together in work of various kinds. At noon the men come in, and join their wives at dinner. I was present at the December meeting, an interested listener to the dinner conversation. The dinner itself was good, the principal dish being roast pork. The host had butchered a pig of eighty-five or ninety pounds, with an uncertain market value of from thirty-five cents to a dollar. This year, it takes too much dollar-a-bushel corn to turn a pig like that into a marketable hog.

As I remember, it was Eddie who started the conversation. "This feed question is sure getting awful," he said. "This morning I happened to walk by the hen-house with a bucket. I guess the hens thought I had grain in it. They flew all over me, in my face and everywhere else. Three of them got into the bucket at once. I can't hardly stand it to see my stuff going hungry."

"Same here," said Art. "I got some gilts I'm tryin' to keep for brood sows, but I can only give 'em a little dab of corn a day. I guess I'll just have to teach my young pigs not to make hogs of themselves!" A burst of laughter greeted this sally, but somehow I didn't like the tone of it.

The Anti-Roosevelt Voice

"How are your cattle, up north, George?" somebody asked, turning to the blustery, red-faced fellow with the pronounced anti-administration views.

George had just returned from the more favored region to the north, where he had taken his cattle for wintering. "All right," he said, "what there is of them. It sure seemed tough at first, giving that fellow half my herd in payment for wintering the other half. But I guess I'm at least as well off as the fellows who're trying to keep their stuff, and can't feed it."

"I turned down a chance to winter my stuff for half the herd," remarked Jack, "but I was a fool. I thought I'd sell part of mine, to buy feed for the rest. I sold them all right, but they didn't bring *nothing!*"

"Say, boys!" said Eddie, reaching for another piece of bread. "That fellow that bought my pigs to feed told a good story. He said he had a neighbor up there in the north part of the state who pulled a good deal.

"It seems like this fellow had a lot of stubble ground he aimed to fall plow. Them late rains they had made a rank growth of fox-tail on it. He started plowing quite early, while the grass was still green. When he was making his second or third round, a car stopped along the highway, and a traveling man got out and waited for him to come up. He told the farmer he was a fool to plow that tall fox-tail under. 'Cut it for hay,' he told him. 'Those fellows down south will give you seven or eight dollars a ton for it.'

"The farmer thought it over. It sounded foolish to him, but he inquired around, and decided to do it. The trucker told me he sold a thousand dollars worth of the dirty stuff."

"I don't doubt it," remarked Art. "Only, instead of seven or eight, we pay fourteen or fifteen dollars for it."

"Yeah, and ordinarily we wouldn't look at such stuff," added young Bob.

What Price Pigs?

"By the way, Eddie," asked George, "what did you get for them pigs you sold the trucker?"

"A dollar apiece," answered Eddie. "A dollar apiece for forty pigs weighing right at a hundred pounds. I know they had eaten a hundred dollars

worth of feed, but what else could I do? I couldn't feed them any longer. The longer I kept them, the more they cost me."

"Boys," Ernest pushed back his plate, and reached for the pie, "I've sold off all my cows but five, and have got just what horses I can't spare. It costs me three dollars a day, just to keep them alive. They don't get any grain, and not all the hay they'd eat, not by a long shot. They get three bales of good hay every day, and it cost me a dollar a bale."

"If we work our horses next spring, they've got to get some grain after a while." John slowly pulled his pipe from his pocket, and filled it with cheap tobacco. "Mine are all thin enough, but have any of you seen Bill Hamaan's horses? He just turned them out on the corn ground to chew the old stumps left after he cut his fodder. They have to lean against the wind to stand up now, and winter's just started."

"There was a fellow at my house last Sunday," remarked Ernest thoughtfully. "He said he lived twenty-five or thirty miles southeast of here. He saw my house from the highway, and drove in. He asked me if I knew who would loan him $150. I told him, no, I would borrow it myself if I did. Then he told me he had been feeding corn out of a sealed crib. The authorities found it out, and gave him until Monday to raise the money. He just started down the road, hunting."

"He'll get plenty," said young Bob, "and it won't be money, either."

What Happened to Jim?

"I'd sure like to know what's happened to Jim," remarked one of the men, as we settled ourselves in the front room, leaving the women to clear the table.

"Why go over that?" asked Ernest sourly. Ernest had been Jim's nearest neighbor and best friend. It hurt him worse than anybody when Jim disappeared.

Jim was a bachelor about forty. He had worked hard, and spent little enough. But he had borrowed money on his farm to buy another. The depression was too much for him, but he kept working away up until last fall. When he saw what the conditions were going to be around here this winter, he just walked out, leaving his stock and his farm. Everybody knew there wasn't anything against Jim. He was just a victim of the depression, like a lot of others. But it hurt Ernest to talk about it.

Nobody said anything for a little while, and then Art began to talk about his note at the bank. "I got notice it was due," he began, "and I went in to see about it. I asked them to renew it for a year, until I could raise a crop and sell something. They reminded me I had a little checking account, and asked me to pay something on the note. I asked them how long they thought those few dollars would buy feed for my stock, so they said that was all right. They would renew my note for three months. I told them I wouldn't be any better off in three months than I am now. 'Three months, Art,' they said. 'Then come in again and we'll see.' I guess they want to nag at me, even if they know I can't pay for a year."

"I don't know how this'll end," said Eddie, as we began to move toward the pile of overshoes near the door. "I'm tired of lookin' at a lot of hungry critters. I'll be looking at some of mine through the sights of a rifle before long, if something doesn't happen."

"I hear some are getting feed loans, as high as sixty dollars a month, or even more," Bob observed. "I wonder how they do it."

"You might get it," answered Art, "but if you do, the government will likely put a 'plaster' on everything you own. It ain't a chance to borrow money I want. I owe enough now. I'd like a chance to make a little."

Feed Loans

"Not many of you guys will get feed loans," announced George, belligerently. "Why? You ain't democrat enough, that's why. If this new deal don't wreck the old U. S. A., she's wreck-proof. The good Lord ain't goin' to prosper any government that kills little pigs and destroys crops and leaves good land go to weeds. Lookit this drouth." (George isn't noted for his deference to the ways of Providence, except when the argument seems to call for piety.)

"Well, it don't seem right, I admit," replied Eddie. "But just the same, with my milk cows sold off and my chickens not laying, I'm looking forward to that next corn-hog check due in a couple of weeks. And so are you, George."

A murmur of assent arose. "But all the same," supplemented Eddie, "I don't know how all this will end."

As I climbed into my travel-worn Chevie, it occurred to me that none of the other cars in the farmyard was better or newer than mine. Many of them were not as good as my own. I drove away with Eddie's question in my mind. How will all this end? It is a natural question, here in the drouth region. We try not to lose our perspective. We know that the aggregate farm income is "up," that grain and livestock prices show notable advances over a year or two ago. We are hospitable to the idea that the backbone of the depression is broken. But there are many thousands of farmers, like these in my own neighborhood, fighting with their backs to the wall.

These men are upright, hard-working, self-respecting American citizens. They are not the stuff of which revolutionists are made. They can still laugh, and hope, and plan for the future. "Next spring . . . ," I hear them say.

Their courage and spirit are tremendous national assets. Can America afford to break her farmers upon the rack of a famine-in-depression? Will she rob them of the idealism which keeps them saying, "Next spring . . ."?

Moral Leader

HE strove, with many a bold, courageous word,
To rouse his fellows, driven to the wall;
And by his pleadings, little marked or heard,
He roused himself to mount above them all.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

BOOKS

Unstable Stability

TOWARDS STABILITY. *By Sumner H. Slichter. Henry Holt & Company, $2.00.*

WHEN Professor Slichter of Harvard university wrote his distinguished book, "Modern Economic Society," he was at once recognized as an authority in his field. That book was hailed by liberals as marking a new advance in the analysis of our American economic scheme. Moreover, they looked forward to the time when he would address himself definitely to the problems intensified and dramatized by the collapse of 1929, and the events that have transpired since.

In this book he purports to do just that, and poses the question: Can the ups and downs of the business cycle—the booms and depressions—be prevented, and if so, how? In seeking the answer the author investigates the problems of spending, investment, credit, purchasing power, planning, and the inelasticity of the American constitution. He does all this in his usual thoroughgoing and analytic fashion; but if one follows him with the hope that there will emerge a discussion of the problems of a planned social economy such as various left-wing groups are seeking to establish, one is doomed to disappointment. He confines his discussions exclusively to the capitalistic patterns within which the problems indicated by the chapter headings now lie. To be sure, he notes the inadequacies of those patterns, and he often makes strong indictments. He says, for example, that if we were living in a cash economy and desired for some strange reason to make it highly susceptible to violent fluctuations, we could scarcely do better than to invent the present credit system. Many other statements of a like nature constitute an admission that we have reached the end of stabilization under capitalism. Nevertheless, whereas he himself seems to have lost that hope, he continues to dangle it before the reader. He frankly asserts that the NRA will not save capitalism. Nowhere does he express himself so positively as in his conviction that the "blue eagle" has failed. The codes, he thinks, will retard the rate of growth and change on the part of business enterprises by discouraging experimentation, innovation and expansion, for business cannot commit itself to large undertakings so long as government decisions are unstable and therefore unpredictable.

In all this the author is undoubtedly correct, but what does he suggest as a substitute? He is not altogether clear at this point, but he would not withdraw public participation in the management of business; and he admits that perhaps the NRA will turn out to be the way in which we blunder toward more and more public ownership. Indeed, he believes that a continuation of the trend is inevitable even though, in the meantime, "private enterprise will not flourish under a system of control unless the control is exercised by a fairly friendly state."

Having thus engulfed his reader in doubt, the author concludes: "One cannot avoid asking whether it is wise to base the maintenance of production, and hence the standard of living, upon such a narrow and precarious foundation as the prospects for profit. Would it not be sensible to shift to a simpler economic system, such as socialism, under which mistakes would be less costly and the incentive to reduce production less compelling? These are questions which each person must answer for himself."

Precisely. And these are questions, also, concerning which a lay person has a right to demand a more positive and courageous answer than our author has given us. Why are our liberal economists so non-committal? Does Professor Slichter not have an opinion of his own concerning these matters? There are many reasons for believing that he does, but one looks in vain for a bold expression from his pen. We do not need another discussion of the problems arising under capitalistic planning nearly so much as we need a discussion of the problems arising under social planning. We have asked for bread and we have been given a stone. If that is all the help we can expect to get from the liberal economic thought emanating from our universities, then left-wing groups will be compelled to turn elsewhere for light as well as for leadership.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

One of the Great Biographies

R. E. LEE. *By Douglas Southall Freeman. Vols. III and IV. Charles Scribner's Sons, $15.00 for the set.*

SINCE I have already reviewed the first two volumes of this life of Lee (cf. The Christian Century, October 24, 1934), it is now necessary only to say a few words about the manner in which Dr. Freeman brings his work to its conclusion. The same high level of research and writing is maintained up to the last line. Disputed facts and quotations are winnowed out until what remains can be accepted as not only the most dependable verdict now possible but also the verdict which is practically certain to stand to the end. America has produced few biographies to equal this. Offhand one thinks of Beveridge's Marshall, and then finds it hard to recall another fit to rank beside it. Needless to say, the Lee who lives in the book is as impressive as the book in which he lives. As a general, his abilities seem even greater in the period from Gettysburg to Appomattox than in the years before attrition had reduced the southern forces to a handful. As in the former volumes, there is no attempt to gloss over Lee's mistakes—even at the very end Pickett is shown going out from his single postwar meeting with the dying commander growling bitterly to Mosby, "That old man had my division massacred at Gettysburg." But the Lee of that postwar period, who turned from commanding the armies of the confederacy to the presidency of a ruined little college which could pay him but $1500 a year, is an even greater man than the Lee who held Grant at bay. "Robert Lee," says Dr. Freeman, "was one of the small company of great men in whom there is no inconsistency to be explained, no enigma to be solved. What he seemed, he was—a wholly human gentleman, the essential elements of whose positive character were two and only two, simplicity and spirituality."

P. H.

Books in Brief

HOW LIKE AN ANGEL. *By A. G. Macdonnell. The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

If Mr. Macdonnell only had to work a little harder he might turn out to be this generation's Dean Swift. "England, Their England" showed that. But the trick seems too easy for him. In this case he takes the familiar but effective idea of transplanting a child of nature into western civilization as a means of pointing out the idiocy of our ways. The result is gorgeous satire for a hundred pages, but after that is pretty much broad farce galloping toward an end that comes at a page where everyone concerned—author, characters and readers—is willing to drop the whole thing.

THESE HURRYING YEARS. *By Gerald Heard. The Oxford University Press, $3.00.*

Such a book as this has real importance, not so much as a finished product in its own right, as in the promise which it

holds out of the sort of historical interpretation which will follow in its path. Mr. Heard deals with the years 1900-1933. He divides them into four periods: 1900-1910; 1910-1919; 1919-1929; 1929-1933. Each of these periods he studies under three heads: "The Outward Scene," "The Forces Behind," "The Trend." He starts with a quotation from Whitehead to the effect that this is the first period in human history in which it is false to assume that men will live amid the conditions which have governed the lives of their fathers or which they will transmit to their children. His central contention is that history is a product of the working of men's minds; that our minds work differently than in any past because of the discoveries of psychology; that those discoveries are a part of the new discipline of anthropology. In other words, Freud is historically more important than William II, or even Lenin. No one will agree with everything Mr. Heard has written, but there will be few readers who will not find their own thinking with regard to contemporary history immensely stimulated.

MOUNT PEACOCK, OR PROGRESS IN PROVENCE. *By Marie Mauron. Translated by F. L. Lucas. The Macmillan Company, $1.75.*

Only once in a blue moon is there a book which extracts so much of beauty and merriment from such simple materials. The scene is a village in the Rhone valley; the persons are the village people, the farmers of the neighborhood, the members of the town council and the visiting officials. Nothing happens more exciting than a campaign to get four electric lights installed on the village street, and a tour of inspection by a government agent to take a census of the horses, cows, sheep and goats of the neighborhood with full details of age, sex, physical condition, and prospects of progeny. The really valid reason for reading such a book is that it is clever and diverting and fills the heart with such joy as comes from contact with simple people portrayed with sympathy and humor. But incidentally also it is a beautiful picture of one part of rural France.

FOURSCORE: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *By Robert Grant. Houghton Mifflin Company, $3.50.*

Robert Grant has had a long and honorable career as a member of Boston's highest literary and social circles, a novelist of distinction and a judge. The material for his autobiography is furnished by his contacts with distinguished contemporaries and his own active and fruitful participation in the life of his time. He was a member of the Sacco-Vanzetti commission appointed by Governor Fuller. His account of this incident does not add much to what was already known about it and his defense of the commission's report will not carry conviction to those not already convinced of its wisdom and fairness. The complacent statement that the report "was generally accepted as conclusive" goes considerably beyond the fact.

ROMANY. *By Lady Eleanor Smith. Bobbs Merrill Company, $2.50.*

Lady Eleanor returns for the subject matter of this novel to the gypsy life with which she showed her acquaintance in her "Famenco." Her gypsy heroine remains almost incredibly faithful to her betrothed, whom she had seen only twice and did not know at all until she was erroneously informed of his death. Then she married an Englishman. The return of the betrothed, who had become a lion tamer in the interim, introduces the necessary complications, but the denouement is not quite what one might expect.

VICTORIAN FAMILY ROBINSON. *By Beatrice Grimshaw. Longmans Green & Company, $2.00.*

When four gentlemen and four ladies of the strictest Victorian tradition are cast on a desert island in the South seas (in 1865), events may be expected which will be in sharp contrast with the mild adventures of the Swiss Family Robinson, even if one of the gentlemen and his two daughters bear the same name. They are found and captured by the inhabitants of the neighboring island, the pious descendants of a group of English people who had been similarly cast away two generations earlier and had gone native. These people of the island of Vainamu had never heard of Pitcairn and "Mutiny on the Bounty," but the author had. In the development of her theme she gives an entertaining picture of Victorian manners and morals, with a slight element of caricature, shows no knowledge of the sea, and exhibits much wit and cleverness.

HEAVEN'S MY DESTINATION. *By Thornton Wilder. Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

See editorial on page 232.

A COMMUNICATION

The Difference Between Communisms

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: While in China upon a four months' evangelistic campaign at the invitation of the Chinese leaders, I received the issue of The Christian Century of November 28, 1934, in which, editorially, it was asked why, if I point out the significance of the great experiment in the soviet union whose recognition I have always advocated, I seem so unfriendly to communism in China and the need was suggested of integrating my two personalities expressed in these two countries. If it were merely a personal question I might not be justified in troubling your readers with a reply, but it is more than a personal problem. I think the answer is that I am the same person in both countries but I am confronting two very different situations, so different in fact that they should hardly be described by the same name.

I have pointed out in my two books, "Russia Today" and "The Challenge of Russia," that if one country like the soviet union can successfully begin to build a classless society based upon social justice it will inevitably change history and force the capitalist nations to put their own houses in order. I believe the new order of soviet Russia is the most significant experiment in our little world today. Both of the above books are now translated and circulated freely in China and both are friendly to the Russian experiment in its social and economic program. But that does not mean that I am in sympathy with the cruelty and slaughter of which the communists in China have been guilty almost every time during the last decade that they have had a free hand in that land.

When, in 1923, Dr. Sun Yat-sen demanded part of the customs revenue at Canton to support his government the United States made the stupid mistake of sending its gunboats, along with those of the British, French, and Italians, as a threat against him. Dr. Sun then turned in despair to the only nation which would give practical aid to China's revolution, as France had extended a helping hand to the American colonists in their similar struggle. That nation was soviet Russia, which wisely abrogated its unjust and unequal treaties with China, gave them financial aid, military experts to train the officers for their successful northern expedition, and sent able advisers like Jaffe, Karakhan and Borodin to help reorganize the new republic. Borodin, especially, organized the students, the peasants, the proletariat and the Kuomingtang party which was patterned in many respects after the communist party in Russia.

But the two diverse elements in the Kuomingtang were in irreconcilable conflict. Chiang Kai-shek wanted a revolution on the democratic pattern of George Washington, and the communists one on the basis of the soviet union. I do not blame them for choosing a complete and continuing revolution true to the Marxian type. But rural and feudal China was not tsarist Russia. As Dr. Sun said: "The real problem of China is the problem of poverty, not the problem of unequal distribution." Russia might share tsarist wealth, but China, with no large estates to divide, could not communize her poverty.

When the reds seized Canton the slaughter began, though the white terror which followed it was far worse than that of the reds, as was often the case in Russia. With the Nanking incident the reds showed their hand. When my friend, Jack Williams, and the foreigners were killed there it showed the doom of every missionary and every foreign trader in areas which the reds could capture or rule. Chiang Kai-shek had to choose between the two principles and methods of a revolution which sought to be violent or non-violent, and he decided once and for all against the communist program. I do not deny that there have been elements of a white terror as well as of a red one in China, and with neither of these am I in sympathy.

The former Christian General Feng Yü-shang for a time cast in his lot with the reds but was finally driven into revolt against their barbarous cruelty in Hunan and other provinces, until he finally wired to Borodin demanding that he leave China. Apart from the small number of genuine communists who wanted a violent revolution humanitarian China as a whole was shocked at communist cruelty and was almost unanimous in choosing against it. The Chinese were confronted not with a theory but with a condition, actual and repeated wherever the communists seized power. Communist leaders have confessed to me the fatal mistake they made in tactics in these early excesses and barbarities and expressed the belief that they would be able to eliminate them in future, but they never have been.

Then came their opportuntiy to set up a settled government as the Soviet Republic of China in southern Kiangsi and to try out their experiment for some years. I went over this devastated region after it had been recaptured from the communists. Like the battlefields of the world war it was a sad sight, typical, I fear, of many which will be witnessed for years, or more probably decades to come in this unhappy land. Far from communism's having been conquered, it has only been driven from one province into rich and inaccessible Szechuan as its prospective new base, and it is still powerful in the hill country of several sections.

While in Kwangsi I interviewed General Kung Ho-chung who described to me his genuine conversion to communism and his equally genuine conversion from it after a thorough trial. He was disillusioned alike by its economic failure, against overwhelming odds, and the suffering of the people under its slaughter and civil war. He stated that over 300,000 in that one province had been killed, or starved, or had fled, and that one-third of the population in the districts they had ruled had perished or barely escaped with their lives. He dramatically described how they had killed the poor to frighten the rich as the well-to-do were lined up and indemnities placed upon them up to their limit, and deliberately beyond their limit, for the first men whom they beheaded in the most brutal manner possible to terrify the others and make them bring in their hidden treasures under fear or torture. After the plunder of the rich was exhausted he told me how they had had to strip first the middle class and then the poorer peasants until any man who had ten dollars left was called a kulak or a capitalist. It was the economic failure of the system, under present conditions in China, with the poor sinking in ever-deepening poverty, which finally turned him against communism.

My friend, George Shepherd, was a missionary of the American board in Tukien. He is a left-wing socialist who was in initial sympathy with the high aims of communism as the natural and inevitable revolt of youth against intolerable economic and moral conditions in the decaying civilization of old China. But when it came to actual practice, eight of his fellow missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, were killed, and others held for ransom. He himself was surrounded by the communists and barely escaped. He found this section of southern Kiangsi, which had been occupied by the communists, stripped bare and close to starvation in desperate economic need. He entered upon the work of reconstruction with a band of devoted Christian Chinese graduates, trying to out-think, to out-live, and if necessary even to out-die the communists, carrying out many of the plans which have been so successfully used in little Denmark. I frankly admit that much of this reconstruction is due to the challenge of the communist menace in China today and that it is a good thing that China is compelled to change her ways.

The real danger is now in the far west, in Szechuan, which is economically the richest but morally the weakest and most graft-ridden province in China, with a population of nearly sixty millions in what is naturally the best irrigated section of the earth which I know. I do not wonder at the rise of communism there as the last counsel of despair. Eye witnesses touring that region told me that if the communists had stuck to their professed purpose of uplifting the poor, the peasantry would have turned to them for deliverance. But here again they overreached and the slaughter broke out once again. The witnesses told me of a great mound at the entrance of each town the communists had held which covered a heap of several hundred corpses piled in a common grave. They began by killing the rich and all their class enemies, real or supposed. When they left, if the food supply was short, they killed the aged, which always shocked the humane Chinese. They did not waste cartridges to kill these miserable people; they were slaughtered by the knife or the big sword. I was near one such hillside which covered some five hundred bodies buried in a mass grave.

When Bert Nelson, the Lutheran missionary near Hankow, was seized and held for ransom, the money was raised and paid with great difficulty, but the communists broke their pledge, refused to release him, and finally let him die on their hands. I remember the night I was in Hankow when a neighboring missionary came in with his whole theological seminary as refugees. One could not then leave that city and travel fifty miles in any direction without fear of capture by communists.

As I was on my way to the orient this year Howard Smith, a missionary of West China, was captured by the cruel communist leader, Holung. His young nephew, also a missionary, had just been shot by bandits and a month later his only son, who was preparing to become a missionary, was also killed by them. Mr. Smith's home was looted, and as he was marched through the streets of his city where he had worked among the people many of the Christians were in tears. For sixty days, as he was marched as a captive of the communists, he saw towns taken and long lines of Chinese prisoners forced to march often with limbs disfigured through chains and bonds. There were many vacancies left in the line of men as they fell or were killed on the march, and many gruesome tragedies along the way, but Smith, after two months in captivity, finally managed to escape in the night. There was no talk, as my liberal friends in America write me, of "conferences for a united front for peace." It was just a grim matter of life or death, or ransoms paid to permit them to escape with their lives.

In Anwhei, while I was in China a few weeks ago, the communists seized and murdered Mr. and Mrs. Stamm, humble and earnest workers of the China Inland mission. With their simple personal gospel they had no interest in politics, but according to the class thinking and mass propaganda of the communists Chiang Kai-shek is trying to hand over China to the Japanese and all foreigners are his imperialistic friends. In the report of April 15, 1933, written by Mao Tse-tung, "President of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China," and Chu Teh, commander in chief of the communist armies, which lies before me, they state that Chiang Kai-shek conspires with the Japanese to sell China for the imperialistic rule of Japan, hence his invasion of their communist territory. They point with pride to their stopping of all mission schools, their seizure of land from 6,988 landlords and 6,638 "kulaks," or more prosperous peasants, and $606,916 in cash taken from them in three months, saying: "We exploit the kulaks and annihilate the landlords." So they do, but every communist district is in bitter poverty.

According to their official propaganda, since Chiang Kai-shek is in conspiracy with the Japanese and all foreigners are imperialistic friends of General Chiang Kai-shek they must be put to death. Accordingly these humble missionaries were paraded through the streets stripped of their warm clothing and beheaded before the people in the most brutal manner possible.

A Christian Century correspondent writes me that "the alleged contradiction between communism and the heart of Christianity does not exist." But the communists in China and in soviet Russia seem to think it does. For them there is no compromise between fire and water, between atheism and Christianity, between revolution by violence attended by the cruel slaughter which *in China*

habitually seems to accompany it, and all efforts at evolutionary reformism or the "hypocritical" reconstruction of Christians, which they not only despise but seem to hate with a deep hatred.

As I have faced 170,000 non-Christians in these audiences in twenty cities in China, seeing this country menaced by the advancing imperialism of Japan on the one side and of ruthless, atheistic communism on the other, while between the two China is sinking as her own worst enemy, I have felt the thrill of a great "good news" which the early Christians must have felt as they faced their foes in the decaying Roman empire. The rise of communism in China will mean decades of civil war with literally millions perishing in this impoverished, overcrowded population as in another Taiping rebellion. Perhaps China, or parts of it, may finally come to that. But I for one cannot sit idly by while this glorious yet tragic people sinks to its doom or is dragged into a Babylonian captivity of cruelty, whether imperialist or communist, if I can help to prevent it by offering a better way of life.

I have never presented Christianity and communism as two contrasted or conflicting systems, for such tactics would be folly. Nevertheless, with the old religions dead or dying, with the failure alike of her ancient precepts and her modern slogans, China will be driven to seek some new dynamic. It may be that she will turn to ruthless communism; or it may be to the dynamic of nascent religion coupled with a burning national awakening and an educational renaissance such as Denmark found under the Christian leadership of Bishop Grundtvig and Kalt. Which China will choose I do not know. But as I face this great divide, I know on which side I stand. Whatever its theory, communism *in China today* is not the pink romance of parlor bolsheviks but, all too often, grim slaughter.

New York city. SHERWOOD EDDY.

[The admiration in which The Christian Century holds Sherwood Eddy is too well known to necessitate assurance concerning the friendly nature of the comment in the editorial to which his communication refers. Mr. Eddy is one of the most useful Christians living, and one of the best. His present letter, however, far from resolving the contradiction which occasioned the original editorial, deepens it. Taking this statement at face value, it yet remains to be shown in what *essential* the communism of China, which Mr. Eddy rejects so passionately because of its brutality, differs from the communism of Russia, which he interprets so sympathetically because of the ultimate goals which it proclaims. When it comes to discussing goals, or the degree of influence on future world politics which would be exercised by the establishment of a classless society in either Russia or China, it would be hard to reach a verdict as to the comparative importance of the two. Does Mr. Eddy then take the view that because communism is now established in Russia, the issue of brutality is thus pragmatically washed out there? Stalin's most recent "purge" throws doubt on such a judgment. William Henry Chamberlain's recent book, "Russia's Iron Age," insists that the soviet regime is still characterized by a ruthless disregard for human life quite as appalling as anything Mr. Eddy reports from China. In fact, the one thing which strikes the reader about the only statistics Mr. Eddy quotes to prove the ruthlessness of Chinese communists—their expropriation of the land of 13,000 landlords and kulaks and seizure of $600,000—is its petty nature when compared with similar acts committed by the communists of Russia. In saying this, we do not wish to be interpreted as accepting Mr. Eddy's description of the situation in China as final or complete. There are at least reports on the other side which deserve a hearing, and which insist that the white terror, whose existence Mr. Eddy admits, has been more savage than the red. But that is not now the question. On the basis of Mr. Eddy's own reply the question remains why he so utterly condemns communism in China and so sympathetically regards it in Russia, when the issue of violence, which he raises, is as characteristic of the one as the other.—THE EDITORS.]

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Boettiger Is Amazed

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In a paper that pretends to be guided by Christian concepts, I am amazed to find such an irresponsible, inaccurate specimen of yellow journalism as appears in your editorial of January 30 entitled, "Romance and Conflict in Filmland."

New York city. JOHN BOETTIGER.

This Will Be News to the Unemployed

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Has it ever occurred to you that one of the greatest examples ever given to the world of passive non-resistance, as taught by Jesus, has been displayed by the American working class during this depression? To those who see the evil and injustice of the present social order this example of non-resistance may offer a firmer hope for the displacement of capitalism than any other method could ever give. Capitalism can only survive its present plight by exploitation of the workers and by the maintenance of profitable prices for goods sold to the masses. The acceptance, without resistance, of low wages, the pitifully inadequate dole, and the denial to themselves of most everything in life except food and fuel and a shack to live in, by the great masses of the American people of the lower social strata, has cut off from capitalism the very food it lives upon, which means that it must starve to death. The only means whereby capitalism now lives at all are from the dole given to the unemployed, the subsidies granted to agriculture, loans to industry by the RFC, all obtained by borrowing; and what purchasing power is left among the parasitic middle class. Clearly, there must soon be an end to this borrowing and parasitism, and when they end capitalism will end with them. And contributing most importantly to that inevitable end will have been the passive non-resistance to the evil of it all by the 30 million Americans of the lower social strata who, by self-denial, suffering, and sacrifice of all hope of any higher standards of living, deprived capitalism of its life-blood, causing it to die of anemia while the new social order takes its place.

If the workers of the world would only follow this same tactic of non-resistance when they face the next world war!

Davenport, Iowa. HUYARD METCALF.

Fasting as a Cure for Lynching

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As one who loves the United States only next to his own motherland, may I from this end of the world suggest a remedy for lynching, which blackens the fair name of America more than anything else? As this is a corporate and almost a national sin, it has to be expiated in a deeper way than suggested by Mr. R. R. Gregg from Pendle Hill (The Christian Century, November 7, 1934).

While I was in Nashville in 1933, a young Negro was killed there in what was nothing less than a most flagrant disregard of the law of the land. Some of the white people of the place were doing all they could to get the perpetrators of the diabolical crime arrested and punished, but I am not sure how far they succeeded in this attempt. Although this was not a case of lynching, I suggested to some friends that one of the best remedies for such crimes was *fasting,* as the evil was too great to be cured by ordinary remedies. I said this to one of the finest Christians I knew in the place, but I am sorry to say the thing did not commend itself to the lady. Perhaps she thought it to be too medieval. I would, however, still persist in saying that such crimes as lynching should be expiated by fasting and prayer on the part of all those people all over the land who feel the awful injustice and iniquity that lie behind the neutrality that inspires such crimes.

All the other things that are being done today to get rid of this neutrality are very good, and what Mr. Gregg suggests is still better, but we need to get deeper still and take the punishment of

the crime in some way upon ourselves. If such a thing as this were done on a large scale under the leadership of the Christian ministers all over the land, e.g., if a hundred thousand people and more were to fast for a day after every such crime, I am sure the effects thereof would be far-reaching, and this would perhaps be the most potent means of getting rid of a corporate crime the like of which it is difficult to find in any other part of the world.

Jesus said certain kinds of evil spirits can only be got rid of by fasting and prayer, and I am afraid this is one of them, although I do not believe that there are any other evil spirits besides our own hearts inspired by pride of race, etc., behind such crimes.

Harmony House, Rajkor, India. MANILAL C. PAREKH.

The Question Remains: Is the Church to Go on Recruiting for the War System?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I read the article of Kirby Page, "War Is Sin," with deep interest and as deep appreciation. Certainly this interest and appreciation do not blind me to his own illogical conclusion when, true to his personal conviction, he finally departs from his own major premise; nor can I accept his major premise without my own mental reservations.

But for the moment granting that major premise and granting the major premise of the editorial "The Chaplaincy Question," is it necessarily true that for an individual Christian to serve today in the army or the navy is sinful? Certainly for me to remain a chaplain is (for me) not sinful and to withdraw might become (for me) just that. Certainly, too, few of the churches, if any, have taken this position. The Presbyterian general assembly, the Methodist general conference, the general synod of the Reformed Church in America have never said that Presbyterians, Methodists, members of the Reformed church must lose their church standing if they joined the army or the navy.

Have churches, then, any moral right, or indeed ecclesiastical right, to refuse to minister to their members or to others who are in the army or navy?

I might grant—though without reservations I do not—that it is preferable to have a civilian ministry which is entirely detached from the military and naval organizations; but your editorial seems to assume that the existing form of ministry should be terminated abruptly by the churches without first considering whether there is a practical alternative. This was of course essentially the argument of the proponents of prohibition repeal, an argument to which, if I remember correctly, The Christian Century did not consent.

It may be that an alternative ministry could be rendered to certain military groups. Local churches might provide a ministry to men located in bases near a city. But certainly this would not be a possible solution under all conditions. The local pastor could not follow a battleship to minister to the men on board. Again, some form of civilian ministry might be worked out by agreement with the war department or navy department, or by arrangement with the Young Men's Christian association. Whether some such plan would be satisfactory or even possible is, however, an open question.

The point I would make is just this. Here is a problem that should be faced at the same time we face the other question of giving up the military chaplaincy. Should we follow your proposal as I understand it, should we terminate the chaplaincy without giving thought in advance to a substitute ministry, it would mean logically that the church had in effect declared herself to have no responsibility for men who join the army or navy. I do not grant this. If I did, I would be bound first to promote a campaign to persuade the denominations and communions to insert in their disciplines, or corresponding rules of government, prohibitions against individual members joining the army or navy.

Reading the editorial, I question its factual accuracy as to the study of the whole subject by the research department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. You state: "If any report of the research department was made at the Dayton meeting, it was not brought to my attention." Certainly a report on this subject was listed in the program of the Dayton meetings received by the religious journal with which I am associated. Also the report was presented by Dr. Ernest Johnson at the Dayton meeting as scheduled on Tuesday afternoon, December 4, and a discussion followed the presentation. The report did not present recommendations for adoption, nor was it final. It did analyze, as I have it before me now, the issues which are involved. It did ask that the research department be authorized to continue the study and that this study include a consideration of the whole matter by various denominational committees with the understanding that the final report would come to the Federal council's executive committee.

The cause of peace needs today, as I see it, needs imperatively, a drive for unity—unity not uniformity; unity of action without prejudice to our individual *final* convictions. I believe that there is a length of agreement for all peacemakers; that there are things strategic and imperative that we may do together. As to the things to be done, there is little, if any, disagreement among us. I believe that when we actually unite to do these things, we shall destroy war. But again and again insistence upon uniformity, or upon the conclusion of absolute pacifism, wrecks a program of promise.

I have never found it difficult to grant the moral integrity of those who go a length in pacifism to which as one man trying to be Christian I cannot go. I have honored these in their courageous position. I have cooperated with them in questionnaires and conferences. I shall continue to cooperate, but I do regret a militant pacifism that divides and disperses the peacemakers.

New York city. DANIEL A. POLING.

Old, Forgotten, Far-Off Things

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In regard to your editorial "Baptist Succession in Kentucky" let me say that you evidently do not realize the factors that enter into the attitude of Kentucky Baptists toward "alien immersion." Kentucky has furnished the stage setting for more than one unfortunate religious controversy. The most bitter of these was over the "Reformation Movement" or "Restoration Movement" led by Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone. One of the main points of difference between the Christian church, which grew out of the movement, and the Baptists from whom they withdrew was in regard to the meaning of baptism. The Christian church, or Disciples, insisted that it was essential to salvation. The Baptists insisted that it was not. The latter stressed the view that only those who gave "evidence of having had an experience of grace" were fit subjects for baptism.

Some of us yet in middle life remember very vividly the sermons and debates of those days in Kentucky when the lines were very sharply drawn between these two groups on the meaning of baptism. Thus most Baptists in Kentucky have been led to oppose the reception of members who have only been baptized by representatives of a group which up to recent years at least has vigorously stressed the idea that baptism is essential to salvation. It has seemed to most Baptists in Kentucky that their own views on "believers' baptism" and their opposition to anything that savored of ceremonial salvation would be obscured by the recognition of "alien-immersion."

Even today, in Kentucky at least, a quite considerable number of our Disciples brethren still cling to and teach the original views of their group on the meaning of baptism. The memories of the past controversies and the lack of thorough agreement now account for the fact that the action to which you refer could be taken. Some of us might not approve of it, but we can get the viewpoint of those who do.

While some of the leaders of the movement who demand that the new president of Georgetown college resign or be re-baptized may believe in Baptist succession, it was rather the point which I have brought out above that formed the basis of the discussion at the general association. This is not written to justify the ac-

tion taken. I vigorously opposed it, have loyally supported Dr. Sherwood, and approve the action of the board of trustees in retaining him as president. However I do want to correct the unfortunate impression that has gone out over the country through The Christian Century that the present delicate situation among the largest group of Christians in the state is simply due to the question of Baptist succession.

Georgetown Baptist church, Georgetown, Ky. WILLIAM W. STOUT.

Miss Lester's Peace Message

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Muriel Lester of Kingsley hall, London, an hour before she sailed for Japan today made a peace talk which has been recorded on a phonograph record suitable for home use or for a broadcasting station. On receipt of $1.50 by the undersigned within a month this record will be mailed anywhere in the United States. The record has two sides and takes about fifteen minutes to run. For use in broadcasting two records should be bought.

It is an excellent peace message which ought to have a wide use in women's clubs, young people's meetings and church groups. It is entitled "The Non-Violence Movement."

Miss Lester created a profound impression in student circles throughout California, as she undoubtedly did elsewhere. This electrical transcription makes possible a wide hearing for her unique message.

St. John's Presbyterian church, Berkeley, Calif. STANLEY A. HUNTER.

Direct Action by a Methodist Conference

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial on "Getting the Church Out of the Chaplaincy," in a recent issue of The Christian Century, makes a sweeping charge that nowhere has the Christian church dealt a direct blow at the institution of the military chaplaincy. Doubtless it will afford some slight relief for you to learn that the Northeast Ohio Methodist conference last September passed the following action by a very large majority, after more than an hour of spirited debate upon that issue:

"We request our bishops not to make new appointments in the future to the chaplaincy of the United States army or navy from the membership of our conference. We urge that the policy of our church be the appointment and maintenance of independent religious leaders for military service and that we seek the cooperation of other denominations in this policy."

The laymen's half of the conference was present in joint session when this action was considered and voted. This large annual conference of 1,000 ministers and laymen went as far as it was possible to go awaiting further legislation by the Methodist general conference.

Wooster, O. HAROLD MOHN.

Mrs. Vanderbilt's Budget

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Fair-mindedness and understanding are due not only to the unfortunate poor. For this reason I presume to answer C. F. Banning of Richmond Hill, New York.

First, this woman of whom he writes by the merest chance was born into that stratum of society which lives on a tremendous income as casually as our children drink their orange juice daily. When she asks for an income which to us seems exorbitant, to her it might honestly be niggardly. Things are relative. Whether this be right or wrong is beyond her control and outside her consciousness. Therefore she herself is not to be condemned.

Second, she renders a greater service to society by spending that money than by allowing it to accumulate interest on her daughter's account. There are seven people as dependent upon her as though they worked in an office or factory. These too must be fed. The benefits of money in circulation are far-reaching. Consider all the people who are affected by the rent she pays, clothes she buys and her miscellaneous expenditures.

However, though comfort and pleasure be easily bought, happiness is not. I warrant no woman with devoted children would exchange places with her in spite of their trying physical conditions and her apparent luxury. Whereas this unhappy woman is not to be blamed for her position in society, the system which has made such a status possible is doomed. Just as sure as physical evolution is social and moral evolution. We are now on the threshold of great change.

Haworth, N. J. IRENE LANGER BIERMAN.

The Dreams of the Prophets

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I venture to challenge one statement of Dr. Niebuhr in his article "Marx, Barth, and Israel's Prophets," in your number for January 30. He states that the Hebrew prophets did not dream of any actual fulfilment of their idealistic dreams, and says of their philosophy: "It cannot, as democratic idealism did, identify the democratic movement with the kingdom of God." As a matter of fact, that is precisely what they did do, and it is more to the Hebrew scriptures than any other volume we owe our conceptions of a time when evil shall be overthrown and all shall dwell together as brothers. It only requires a glance at such passages as Amos 9:11-15; Joel 3:18-20; Zech. 14:20-21; Isaiah 11:1-9; Isaiah 62; Jer. 33:14-18; Ezek. 47:1-12; Daniel's picture of the "stone cut out of the mountain without hands" and the greatest classic of all, the twice-told vision of Isaiah 2:1-5 and Micah 4:1-5; to show the fallacy of Dr. Neibuhr's contention.

With his main point I am in agreement, as I happen to be one of the liberal preachers who did not stop, even in the war and post-war days, preaching either sin or judgment. But it certainly cannot fairly be said that the prophets did not present an ideal time to come.

Pasadena, Calif. FRANK C. REID.

The Question Box

John in his Gospel makes no mention of the observance of the Passover by our Lord and his disciples, nor of the institution of the Lord's supper, nor of the "agony in the garden." Why also do the Synoptic Gospels not contain material appearing in the Gospel of John, chapters 14-17? Why are incidents of so much importance omitted in any of the Gospels?—O. F. M., Evanston, Illinois.

THE Gospels make no claim to a presentation of the complete story of Jesus' life. Their purpose was to present some of the leading facts of his career and his teaching in order that these might be the grounds of information and of faith on the part of their readers. The Fourth Gospel distinctly affirms that only a few of the incidents connected with the life of Jesus were set down in that narrative (John 20:30-31; 21:25). There may have been reasons why a Christian leader writing at a late date, like the author of the Fourth Gospel, would be concerned to record some events and sayings because of their appeal to him, and to omit other features on which the Synoptic Gospels had laid stress because of limitations of time and space. We have to take the Gospels as they come to us, and not as modern readers might have wished to find them. The Synoptic Gospels exhibit some contact with each other or with previous material. The determination of the number of these contacts and their influence is one of the problems of criticism. But for the general reader they are to be regarded as individual documents, each of which presents the activities and teachings of Jesus as they were received in documents or by tradition and were personally assessed. There must have been vast volumes of additional material not found in any of the narratives. Occasionally some such item emerges in the other writings of the New Testament, such as the saying of Jesus in Acts 20:35.

H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Socialists Oust Pastor-Member

Rev. H. J. Hahn Expelled by Party in Buffalo—Churches Unite in Face of Taxation Threat

(Correspondence from Western New York)

BUFFALO, Feb. 6.—Rev. Herman J. Hahn, socialist pastor of Salem Evangelical church, has been a doughty fighter for his political faith. For many years he had the support of Robert Hoffman, member of Salem brotherhood and chairman of the local executive committee. When, however, at a meeting of the brotherhood, Hoffman was severely criticized and accused of blocking a solid socialist front in municipal politics, he walked out of the meeting in a huff. Reprisal soon followed in the expulsion of Mr. Hahn from the socialist party on the ground that he advocated "revolution by armed force." Undaunted, Mr. Hahn arose from a sick bed to preside over a meeting of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Appeal from the action of the local committee to the state committee will be made.

* * *

Protest Proposed Taxation Of Church Property

Taxation of church property will not down. It has bobbed up with especial peril to Buffalo churches in a bill now before the state legislature which will permit the city to issue $10,000,000 worth of special improvement bonds. Only cemeteries and certain industrial properties will be exempted from a pro rate of the special tax. Also, through the action of the democratic city council, the issue will not be allowed petition and referendum. Catholics and Protestants joined forces with the nonpartisan United Taxpayers' league in a mass protest meeting, to which democratic henchmen were not invited but to which they came. Speakers on both sides were heckled, boos and catcalls interrupted rulings by the chair, and the meeting broke up in an uproar; in spite of noisy opposition by the politicians, the protesters got a resolution through condemning the bill. With 50 per cent of the Buffalo population Catholic, and approximately $32,000,000 invested in church property, it will be interesting to see how effective Saturday night's protest proves to be.

* * *

Pastors Sign Pacifist Declaration

On Feb. 10, in First Presbyterian church, a group of ministers will give personal testimony to their attitude toward war. Spokesmen will be Elmore McKee, of Trinity Episcopal, Harvey Swanson, of First Unitarian, Earl Adams, of Delaware Baptist, Hugo Dressler, Atonement Lutheran, and Joseph L. Fink, rabbi of Temple Beth Zion. Other men, comprising a group of peace-minded ministers, join with those named in sponsoring the meeting, and in signing the following pledge: "In loyalty to God, I believe that the way of Christ cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country, I support its adoption of the Kellogg-Briand pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction, I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will I support another."

* * *

Many Denominations Hold Convocations

Convocations and retreats are the order of the day. Gaius Glenn Atkins, of Auburn seminary, conducted the annual pastors' retreat, sponsored by the Buffalo council of churches, offering four topics: "The Sources of the Devotional Life," "The Changing Conditions of the Minister's Task," "The Constant Ends of the Minister's Task," and "Creative Devotion." At about the same time, Bruce Curry of Union seminary was conducting a "spiritual pilgrimage" for Trinity Episcopal church, on the general theme, "Jesus and Our Life's Quest." Trinity parish is following a "four-year plan," and this is the third, or worship, year. Other leaders in this year's program are C. Leslie Glenn of Christ church, Cambridge, and Donald B. Aldrich of the Church of Ascension, New York. The Congregational-Christian ministers of western New York are meeting in convocation February 25, 26, under the leadership of J. Stanley Durkee, of Plymouth church, Brooklyn, and Charles E. Burton, secretary of the national council of Congregational churches. On Feb. 27, the ministers and officers of Buffalo-Niagara presbytery will hold a conference on social questions, peace and morals, at East Aurora, with forenoon, afternoon and evening sessions.

* * *

Another Church Is 100 Years Old

St. Peter's United Evangelical church is devoting the month of February to the observance of its centenary anniversary. Special speakers participating in the program are Prof. Francis Otis Erb, director of the department of religious education, Colgate-Rochester school, and George W. Richards, president of the Evangelical-Reformed synod.

* * *

Welfare Work Disrupts A Congregation

The Jimmersontown Presbyterian church, on the Allegheny Indian reservation, has been rent with discord. One faction padlocked the church doors, another faction broke the padlock, and the congregational meetings have been conducted under the guardian eye of state constabulary. Rev. Paris F. Hawthorne, missionary pastor, has been the storm center. The chief cause of conflict seemed to be his relation to welfare work, which relation he promptly ended when he found it had become a matter of controversy. The Buffalo-Niagara presbytery, at its stated meeting Monday, unanimously adopted the report of a special committee which exonerated Mr. Hawthorne of any liability in the instance, expressed appreciation of his work, and refused to remove him as pastor of the church. The report also complimented him for resigning from his welfare work.

MAX STRANG.

New Deal Now British Issue

Lloyd George's Proposals Will Dominate Coming English Campaign—Church Union Makes Slow Headway

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Jan. 29.—Mr. Lloyd George has in effect, as The Christian World puts it, achieved his "new deal"—he has dictated the agenda for our next general election. Already it is clear that no statesman can speak to the condition of our people without discussing the proposals of Mr. Lloyd George. This is because he has interpreted the mind of a great host of citizens who do not wish to go back to the conflict of parties, and at the same time do not consider that the present government has shown the boldness and resource which the times demand. He demands that we should reconstruct our whole political and economic system so that the workers who are now idle shall live on *wages*. If the maxims of the city or the state are in the way, let them be reviewed and changed. The proposals that there shall be two budgets, one dealing with annual income and expenditure, the other with capital expenditure, is one which will receive serious attention. His plan for a smaller cabinet may lead to swifter action. His outlook upon the east was expressed in very serious language. One of his chief hopes is of a closer cooperation with America. But whatever may happen between the present time and the election, there will be no escape from the new deal.

* * *

Union and Unity In the Church

The upper house of convocation has been discussing reports upon the relations between the Church of England and the church in Finland, and between that same church and the free churches of this country. It is easier for the Church of England to enter into definite arrangements with churches such as the Swedish or the Finnish than with these free churches. With them there has been without doubt a much more friendly cooperation, but there are many both in the Church of England and in the free churches who do not see that the conditions for corporate union are yet to be found. In the Times this position was strongly put in these words: "The truth about all these well-meant efforts is that they rest on a mistaken idea. They aim at something like unity of organization while there is still disunity of belief. On the other hand Chancellor Campbell, who was at one time a Congregationalist and minister of the City Temple, thinks this statement misleading. He points to the fact that already in the Church of England there is a similar lack of unity of belief and he adds as a friend of reunion that it is not belief but polity which divides Christians.

The bishop of London did not add anything of value to the discussion when he

"Can anything new be said about John Wesley?"
see
THE REDISCOVERY OF JOHN WESLEY
by
George Croft Cell

"If any minister or layman thinks that he cannot afford to purchase this book, we would suggest that he sell twenty-five volumes from his library at ten cents each to the second-hand man and use the proceeds to buy this important volume."—Lewis O. Hartman, in ZION'S HERALD.

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told Baptists that their case could be met; he had a tank at Lambeth and immersion might be practiced. Dr. Rushbrooke reasonably reminds the bishop that the Baptists stand not for the method of immersion but for the baptism of believers and a baptistry is not just a tank.

* * *

Social Issues Absorb Parliament

It is a significant fact that the first scene in parliament provided a fierce attack upon the administration of the new unemployment assistance board. From all sides members rose to show how under this board the allowances, already low, had been cut down. The idea that the unemployed would be better off was shown to be untrue in effect. The government speakers were clearly impressed by the evidence and it would not surprise me if there were changes in the administration, for it is there that the fault is chiefly to be found. The debate, whatever comes of it, shows the temper which is gathering strength every day; we are determined that the "condition of England," as Carlyle called it, shall receive attention.

Some decisions of interest in this matter have been taken; London is to see to it, at a cost of two million pounds, that there shall be a green belt of open country round London.

If the report of the Beveridge committee is put into effect—and there is reason to think that it will—there will be 750,000 farm laborers insured against unemployment. The worker, the employer, the exchequer will each pay 4 pence a week; the weekly benefits will be, for example, for a man between 21 and 64, 12 shillings a week; for a woman, 10 shillings, 6 pence; for dependent children, 2 shillings or 3 shillings for the first and 2 shillings, 6 pence for the others.

* * *

Sir John Simon Spikes a Libel

Sir John Simon did a public service in bringing an action for libel against a speaker who had expressed in public the belief that Sir John was influenced in his attitude toward disarmament by the fact that he held shares in firms which produced armament. Sir John did not seek damages or even costs; he wanted to clear his character against a charge which had been circulating in an underground way. There is always abroad tittle-tattle about statesmen, and if all who were guilty of passing on, always in confidence, the things which they "know to be true," were called to the bar, there would be a vast company of defendants. Some years ago a foolish calumny about Gladstone was exposed long after his death. Anyone who knows men of varied parties has to be prepared for such "whisperings."

* * *

Church Dedicated to Spiritual Healing

The dedication of a church in Brighton as a center of spiritual healing has received much attention in the press. Mr. Hugh Redwood describes with deep sympathy the ministry of the Rev. John Maillard who is conducting services simple and free from all sensationalism. He believes in the church's mission of healing. One day Mr. Redwood found 200 sufferers present and there were 300 letters asking for healing.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Dr. Cabot Shows Protestant Lack

Failure of Ministry to Sick Contrasted with Catholic Effectiveness—Two Church Leaders Pass

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Feb. 11.—In the Alden-Tuthill lectures, given this year as a major feature of "Ministers' week," Dr. Richard C. Cabot, of Cambridge, Mass., renewed his plea for the clinical training of students for the ministry, first given wide publicity ten years ago by his series of articles in the Survey Graphic entitled "A Clinical Year in the Course of Theological Study." Dr. Cabot is not now so much concerned about the "year" following the completion of theological training, but he is more than ever convinced that adequate clinical experience, under competent guidance, in general or mental hospitals, jails, reformatories or almshouses, is of fundamental importance in the preparation of the minister of religion for his task in helping people out of trouble. He spoke appreciatively of the work being done by the Rev. Anton T. Boisen through the "Council for the Clinical Training of Theological Students," an organization of which Dr. Cabot himself was one of the founders. Not only would ministerial students be better fitted for their tasks, in Dr. Cabot's judgment, if such training were incorporated into the curriculum, but, also, a great deal of human misery would be alleviated.

One felt ashamed when, on the basis of his wide hospital experience, Dr. Cabot said that he had never known a Catholic hospital patient fail to receive the ministrations of the church when necessary, but he had seen hundreds of Protestant patients face the loneliness and terror of death without receiving the ministrations which a minister of religion might give them to help their courage. This failure Dr. Cabot ascribed, in large part, to the sectarian rivalries and jealousies of Protestantism. The lectures, entitled "The Minister, the Doctor, and the Patient," crowded Mandel hall at the University of Chicago for three nights, Jan. 29-31, and a great number who sought tickets could not be accommodated.

* * *

"Ministers' Week" Program

The attendance upon "Ministers' week," conducted by the Chicago theological seminary, has steadily risen from 204 in 1933, when the first of these assemblies was conducted, to 322 registered members this year. Nineteen states and 16 denominations were represented. A meaty program was provided. Arriving a few minutes late for the opening session on Monday afternoon I found myself on the edges of the overflow from Graham Taylor hall, straining my ears to hear Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of The Christian Century, speak on "Christianity and Nationalism." It was a powerful address in which the totalitarian claims of any political state were challenged in the name of Christian totalitarianism. Each morning nine courses of study were conducted by members of the seminary faculty on subjects of urgent concern to Christian ministers; in the after-

noon "Social Ethics Exploration Tours" to various Chicago neighborhoods and institutions were conducted; at 5 p.m. open forums dealing chiefly with the relation of Christianity to social action were held, and in the evening came the Alden-Tuthill lectures. In addition there were round-table luncheon discussions, services of worship, social occasions, and other attractive program items.

* * *

Two Great Souls Pass On

Chicago churchmen have been shocked and grieved by the sudden death of two outstanding leaders during the past week. Dr. Fred Merrifield, professor emeritus of New Testament history at the University of Chicago and pastor of Unity church, Hinsdale, died unexpectedly following a surgical operation. His was a life of wide horizons. As clergyman, missionary, author, editor, educator, social worker, athlete, he entered richly into life. More than any other man he was responsible for the introduction of baseball into Japan, when, as a university professor in Tokio, he served also as baseball coach. Only recently a missionary told me that Japanese boys used to follow Fred around the streets of Tokio just as American boys have followed Babe Ruth in recent years.

Another lamented death was that of Dr. George H. Thomas, for 20 years rector of St. Paul's Episcopal church, one of the most influential churches of that communion in this city. Death came as a result of pneumonia contracted while visiting in Tucson, Ariz., only three hours after he had been honored by Bishop George Craig Stewart with the award of the distinguished service cross of the Episcopal church. The award was announced at a dinner of Chicago Episcopalians held in connection with the 98th annual convention of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago. Dr. Thomas was a man of generous sympathies and cooperative spirit. He will be greatly missed, not only in his own church, but also by men of many religious fellowships.

* * *

Religious Groups Meet

Several important meetings of religious groups have been held in Chicago during the past week. The secretarial council of the World Service agencies of the Methodist Episcopal church met in the Morrison hotel on Thursday, and the board of education of the same church met the day preceding in the rooms of the Methodist Book concern. Important curricular changes are expected to follow this meeting.

The Moody Bible institute celebrated Founders' week, Feb. 5-8, and one got the impression that important changes of emphasis are taking place in the group represented by this school. "The church has had plenty of fundamentalism during the past ten or fifteen years," said Rev. W. W. Ayer, of Hamilton, Canada, who made the opening address, "but the world has not been particularly impressed or greatly moved by it. It has been a fundamentalism of the head and not of the heart." At this meeting 20 young men and women, recent graduates of the institute, volunteered to go to China to take the place of Rev. and Mrs. John C. Stamm, slain a few weeks ago by Chinese bandits.

The 98th annual convention of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago was held in Grace church, Oak Park, of which the Rev. Harold Holt is rector. Bishop Stewart declared that the Episcopal church had gone through the depression without impairment; not one Episcopal bond was in default, and the diocese is able to meet all obligations.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Discover Fragments of a Fifth Gospel

The British museum has come into possession of three fragments of Greek papyrus which are said to be almost certainly parts of an unknown Gospel, earlier in date than any known piece of Christian writing. Purchased along with other papyri last year, these fragments manifestly date from no later period than the middle of the second century, and possibly much earlier. The nature of the subject matter gave ground for the conjecture that this unknown Gospel was the source from which the Gospel of John was drawn. H. Idris Bell, keeper of manuscripts in the British museum, reports that this writing is a part of the gospel story, but not a part of the known gospels. At one point it runs parallel with the synoptics, at another with the Gospel of John. He points out also that the fragments are not part of the author's original manuscript, but a copy intended for distribution. It is his belief that this new find carries back to the year A.D. or 120 or 110—perhaps even back into the first Christian century. The full text is soon to be given to the public, in a volume published by the trustees of the British museum.

Catholics Obtain Methodist College Buildings for Seminary

Reminders of a boom-period educational project which collapsed were contained in the recent announcement from Kansas City that the Augustinian Recollect Fathers had purchased the three buildings and 11-acre campus of the former Kansas City university. This was a project launched by the Methodists at the height of the Coolidge boom. When the Methodists had to drop it the United Brethren tried to carry it on, but the load was too heavy. The institution, which will be known as St. Augustine's Mission college, will become a seminary for the training of Spanish-speaking candidates for the priesthood.

Filipinos Want American Books!

E. K. Higdon, Disciples missionary in the Philippines and staff correspondent for The Christian Century, writes that within the past few months great excitement has been caused in Manila by the arrival of 20,000 used books from America. These have been distributed to ministers, Bible women, seminaries, mission high schools, churches and libraries throughout the archipelago. He says as many as 10,000 volumes can be disposed of every month if American friends will send them. Communities that wish to observe a book day for the Philippines may secure suggestions from Miss Florence G. Tyler, 419 Fourth avenue, New York; the editor of World Call, Missions building, Indianapolis, or Miss Lulu Heacock, 368 N. Marengo avenue, Pasadena, Cal.

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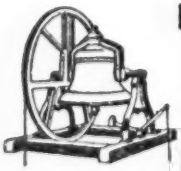
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Methodists Score Roosevelt Record

Social Federation Report Claims New Deal Promises Not Kept—Attack Killing of Child Labor Amendment

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Feb. 9.—The Methodist federation of social service has completed a detailed analysis of the new deal and this week made public its findings. This survey, which was prepared under the direction of Dr. Harry F. Ward and Miss Winifred L. Chappell, reveals a wide discrepancy between the promises made by President Roosevelt and the actual performances in the economic world. According to the Methodist report unemployment at the close of 1934 was substantially the same as at the close of 1933. Moreover the codes which were supposed to fix minimum wages at about $12 per week have often made this amount the maximum. The authors of this report also point out that relief work wages have been deliberately kept low so as not to compete with wages paid by industry, thus pulling down the entire wage level. And, possibly even more serious, there is the now obvious fact that the famous section 7a (on collective bargaining) has been completely nullified and the purchasing power of the average man has steadily diminished. The report holds that the "money changers" are once more in control as they were in the days of Hoover, there is no consistent plan for solving the economic problem, and "concentration of ownership and income becomes increasingly greater at the top and the standard of living culture for the overwhelming majority" is pushed steadily downward.

* * *

Renewed Support for Child Labor Amendment

There is much keen disappointment over the defeat of the child labor amendment in the New York legislature by killing it in committee. Many religious groups and others are bombarding the committee with telegrams and letters of vigorous protest. The letter sent by Rev. George A. Crapullo, chairman of the social service committee of the Brooklyn-Nassau presbytery, is typical. He said: "I wish to register my protest against the high-handed manner in which your committee prevented the discussion and consideration of the child labor amendment on the floor of the senate. Besides jeopardizing the principle of representative government the action of your committee was in direct defiance of a considerable number of citizens who have the interest of children at heart. Such a procedure very easily leads to the suspicion that possibly the hands of an invisible government were operating behind the scenes. I believe in justice to all concerned you should remember your action and report the measure out for full debate and decision."

* * *

New Head of Y.M.C.A.

Richard W. Lawrence, well-known civic leader, was elected president of the New York City Y.M.C.A. at the January meeting of the board of directors. He succeeds Cleveland E. Dodge who now becomes chairman of the executive committee of the board. Mr. Lawrence has been identified with Y work since 1904 and for the past ten years he has been vice-president of the New York organization.

* * *

Annual Dinner of Federation Of Churches

The annual dinner of the Greater New York federation of churches is to be held on Feb. 26 at Riverside church. A strong program has been arranged with addresses by Miss Josephine Roche, assistant secretary of the United States treasury department, and Rev. Robert W. Searle, general secretary of the federation, as the principal speakers. The federation, under the leadership of Dr. Searle, has made substantial progress in several new fields this winter.

* * *

Dr. Keigwin Honored

Dr. A. Edwin Keigwin, pastor of the West End Presbyterian church, was honored by a testimonial dinner at the Hotel Pennsylvania last night in recognition of 30 years of service at this church. More than 600 people attended and such outstanding speakers as Dr. Robert S. Speer and Dr. Daniel A. Poling paid their tributes to the long and faithful Christian leadership of Dr. Keigwin.

* * *

Rejoices at Demise Of Trolleys

The passing of the trolleys on Madison avenue and the substitution of buses reduces the noise to such an extent that the Madison Avenue Presbyterian church takes note of this change of traffic in its calendar. The paragraph reads: "Not often are we glad to announce a demise, but here is the exception that proves the rule: We rejoice that the Madison avenue street cars are no more. The new buses will speed traffic, being more mobile, and they will greatly reduce noise. Last Sunday our services were strangely free of street clamor, and there is promise that the one serious drawback to our summer roof services has been eliminated. So we say rejoicingly, 'Hail to the buses.'"

* * *

Plan Memorial for Dr. Mansfield

A drive is under way to raise $100,000 to establish a memorial to Dr. Archibald R. Mansfield who for nearly 40 years served the Seamen's church institute on South street. The campaign is in charge of a special committee headed by Rear-Admiral Reginald R. Belnap, U.S.N., retired, a vestryman of Trinity parish. The income of this memorial fund is to be used for the assistance of needy merchant seamen through the social service department of the institute.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Dr. Mott Sails for Orient

Dr. John R. Mott will sail from San Francisco for the orient on Feb. 22. His itinerary will take him to Japan, Korea, China and the Philippines. He goes in the interest of the International Missionary council, of which he is chairman.

Rabbi's Attack Rouses Capital

Dr. Louis L. Mann Calls Chaplaincy Device to Give War Divine Sanction—Mrs. Roosevelt Aids Church

(Correspondence from Washington)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 7.—Dr. Louis Mann, Chicago rabbi, addressing the conference on "Cause and Cure of War" recently held here, spoke right out in meeting. "There should be no chaplain in any army," the rabbi is reported as saying. "A chaplain is not there to comfort the dying and bury the dead. That is merely camouflage. He is there to give divine sanction to the hellish business of human slaughter." As might be expected, such a statement, uttered almost within a stone's throw of the war department headquarters and in this city where army defenders are as thick as snowflakes on our Washington streets, could not long go unchallenged. It was Father Walsh of Georgetown university who took up the cudgels in defense of the chaplain. Characterizing the verbal onslaught of the distinguished rabbi as a base libel and an outright falsehood, Father Walsh went on to say: "Precisely because war is the most ghastly scourge of humanity, the Catholic church will continue to accompany the army whenever and wherever the portals of death swing open to engulf her sons."

* * *

Mrs. Roosevelt Comes to Aid of Beleaguered Church

Western Presbyterian church, located a scant four blocks from the White House, is in trouble. The fact that it is almost under the shadow of the executive mansion did not cause the trouble, however. Rather is that an occasion for rejoicing as will appear in a moment. Four years ago a new house of worship was erected at a cost of $300,000. When the building was dedicated a debt of $130,000 remained with a 6 per cent interest charge attached. On Feb. 14 a payment of $25,000 must be met, so the mortgage holders announce, or the building will be sold. The church cannot meet the demand and its officers have sent out an appeal to the city to come to the rescue with subscriptions of one dollar or more. At this point the White House enters the picture. Not the President but Mrs. Roosevelt has interested herself in the desperate case. According to the local press, the first lady was closeted with the money raising committee for an hour. She is giving the project her support and with such powerful backing it seems as though the undertaking might be successful. In the meantime about 40 other churches with Damocletian swords suspended above them are casting longing eyes in the direction of the executive mansion, hoping that her ladyship may learn of their troubles.

* * *

May Establish Nonsectarian Church for Chinese

Washington is the home of about 750 Chinese. Formerly engaged in the laundry business, they have been generally crowded out of this field by the large steam laundries and many of them have gone into the restaurant business. That is not the only radical change that has been imposed upon them. Visitors to Washington will recall the unsightly buildings that formerly made Pennsylvania avenue in the vicinity of the capitol such a hideous eyesore. These have now all been razed to make way for huge government improvements. Their occupants were largely Chinese and these orientals have been forced to look for new habitations. They have moved nearer to the center of the city and now H street northwest, for a distance of two or three blocks is lined with chop suey and chow mein establishments. But the religious interests of these people can hardly be said to have been properly cared for. Several of the churches have maintained Sunday schools for them, though just how valuable these have been is problematical. Now however a movement is on foot to establish a union, non-

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sectarian Chinese church. Some of the white churches are interesting themselves in the movement.

* * *

To Confer on Racial Problems of City

125,000 colored people call Washington their home. Upwards of 75,000 cases (a "case" in relief parlance being a family or an unattached individual) are being cared for through public relief and three-fourths of this number are colored. Hundreds of colored men are out of work because they were discharged to make room for unemployed white men. No hotel in the city will admit a colored person to its dining room as a patron. They cannot attend the concerts which are so much a part of Washington life. In short, this large portion of the city's population labors under a distinct social, economic and industrial handicap. They are intensely religious if the number of their churches is a fair indication. For example, to mention but one denomination, there are at the present time 82 colored Baptist churches in this city of half a million people, and a few of these are huge institutions with several thousand members. To bring about a more cordial relationship at least among the Christian people of the two races, and to give assistance if possible to the colored people in handling their heavy problems, a conference on race relationships is being planned.

* * *

And So Forth

Lenten and Easter plans are in the making among the churches. As in other years the Washington federation of churches will hold a service each Wednesday afternoon during Lent at the centrally located Episphany Episcopal church.

At the annual meeting of the Y.W.C.A. it was announced that an unnamed donor stood ready to give $200,000 with which to build a much needed dormitory as soon as a suitable location was secured.

W. S. ABERNETHY.

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Launch Optional Drill Campaign

Ohio Pastors' Convention Votes to Carry R.O.T.C. Issue to Legislature—Opposes Parochial School Aid

(Correspondence from Ohio)

COLUMBUS, Feb. 9.—With 900 ministers in attendance, an increase of about 50 per cent over last year, the 16th annual Ohio Pastors' convention here this week was marked by serious discussion of many social issues of national and statewide importance. Committed in previous years to a program of opposition to compulsory military training at Ohio State university, the convention this year moved for the first time to carry the fight to the state legislature. Efforts will be made, it was decided, to have a bill introduced making drill optional. At the same time the convention laid plans to bombard the university trustees with hundreds of letters asking similar action, and to address letters to the governor urging him to confine appointments as university trustees to persons who favor optional drill.

* * *

Approve Anti-Saloon League Program

On the question of liquor control, the convention heard a spirited address by Robert S. Nance, Kansas Christian Endeavor secretary, telling of the united youth campaign which, without open support from the "old line" dry groups, defeated repeal in the election in that state last fall. Action by the convention, however, was limited to resolutions endorsing the Ohio Anti-saloon league program, which includes: Provision for county local option; setting a 21-year age limit for beer sales (the present limit is 16 years for beer and 21 for hard liquors), and provision for a damage compensation fund, to be raised by taxes on brewers and distillers, to provide for innocent victims of accidents due to drunkenness.

* * *

Oppose Parochial School Aid; Censure State Administration

As expected, the convention went on record in opposition to a movement being pushed in the legislature to provide state financial aid for parochial schools. It asked the Ohio council of churches to create a committee "to perfect an organization for the spreading of information and the rallying of forces for the protection of public money for public schools only."

A tense situation was created in the convention when the new governor, Martin L. Davey, arrived by invitation for an address while the body was in the midst of discussion of resolutions warning against dictatorial tendencies and threats to the merit system of civil service, with which the state administration is charged. After hearing the governor's brief address and applauding him, the convention proceeded as he left the hall to pass the resolutions by a vote of about 3 to 1.

* * *

Adopt Resolutions on Social Issues

The convention by resolution urged the repeal of the state sales tax, operative for

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the last month, and the substitution of a graduated income tax. The sales tax was adopted to replace revenues lost to local subdivisions and schools by a constitutional amendment reducing the limit on real estate taxation from 1½ per cent to 1 per cent, and also to provide funds for relief purposes.

By a vote of about 3 to 1, the members of the convention agreed to work in their denominations for measures toward equalization of ministers' salaries, "recognizing not rank and strength of a church but size of family and living costs in various communities" as a basis.

The President's social security program was approved "in principle," in resolutions which favored work relief instead of the dole and which called for adequate relief, "not merely enough to avoid starvation." The convention also expressed its "judgment that the principle of production for use and service is more in accord with the spirit of Christianity and will be more effective than the profit motive in the realization of those social needs now emerging in our common life."

State legislation for the sterilization of low grade feeble minded persons was favored.

* * *

Senator Nye Among Convention Speakers

A high point of the convention was the address of Senator Gerald P. Nye, who for more than two hours told the story of the munitions investigation of which he is chairman. The convention went on record in favor of nationalization of the munitions industry, although Senator Nye said the senatorial investigating committee will not be ready to recommend a definite program for munitions control until next spring.

From Senator Nye and Kirby Page the convention heard divergent views on the world court. The senator, who voted against United States membership in the court, maintained that the time will not be ripe for entry of this country until the rest of the world clearly demonstrates a will to end war. Mr. Page declared that "the world court is a good court" and expressed regret at the senate's vote.

Fred Eastman, of Chicago, credited substantial improvement in motion pictures to the work of the Catholic Legion of Decency. The convention favored state and national legislation against block-booking.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of New York, told the convention that the German nazi program is aimed at Christianity as much as at Judaism. "Christianity is the goal," he said; "the Jews merely got in the way."

Rev. Harold N. Geistweit, Cincinnati Baptist minister, was elected chairman of the convention for 1936. He succeeds Rev. Hugh Ivan Evans, Dayton Presbyterian.

Homer C. Shelby, Portsmouth shoe manufacturer, a Methodist, was reelected for his fifth consecutive year as president of the Ohio council of churches.

V. E. McVicker.

Catholic Leader on Moral Control in Colleges

James H. Ryan, rector of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C., speaking at the annual meeting of the Association of American colleges held in Atlanta late in January, declared that American universities and colleges have retrograded in the past 25 years from the standpoint of moral control. As a chief reason, he gives the fact that the schools have refused to accept, as one of their primary duties, the responsibility of teaching men and women how to live. Dr. Ryan stated however that he believes a change has been taking place since 1930. "The moral chaos about us has made men think, particularly educators."

Methodist Writer Adds Stanza to National Hymn

Finding not a single international note in any known national hymn, Benjamin Copeland, Methodist minister of Buffalo, has added a new stanza to "America." The revised hymn will probably appear in the new Methodist hymnal. Here is the added stanza:

"May all the nations share,
Lord God, Thy gracious care,
Thy name adore.
Praise to the Prince of Peace!
His kingdom still increase,
Till wrong and wars shall cease
Forevermore."

Peace and War Discussed at Illinois College

Sherwood Eddy, Dorothy Detzer, H. C. Engelbrecht and others spoke at the sixth annual MacMurray institute of public affairs, at MacMurray college, Jacksonville, Ill., Feb. 19, 20.

Two Brooklyn Churches Federate

The Clinton Avenue Congregational church and the Simpson Methodist church of Brooklyn, N. Y., have federated. In order to perpetuate the distinctive denominational bodies the agreement drawn up was to the effect that the two groups should come together as a community church of the federated type whereby the two churches shall unite for common worship and community service, while each organization shall continue its denominational affiliations with respect to local and general benevolences, and also maintain its relationship with its own communion.

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Frederick K. Stamm of the Clinton Avenue church will continue as pastor of the new Clinton Avenue Community church, and Harry T. Howard of the Simpson church will serve as co-pastor. The property of the Clinton Avenue church will be available for the use of the federating bodies.

"No Archbishop," Says Dr. Z. B. Phillips of Washington

"We are not going to have in this church of ours an archbishop with precedence over a diocesan," declared Dr. Z. B. Phillips before the January session of the Washington clericus. Dr. Phillips is rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, chaplain-for-life of the U. S. senate and president of the house of deputies. He expressed the opinion that sooner or later the seat of the presiding bishop would be the national capital.

Bishop Hulse of Cuba Celebrates

On Jan. 13 special services were held in all the Episcopal churches of Cuba marking the twentieth anniversary of Bishop Hulse's consecration as bishop of Cuba.

College Peace Poll Reveals Anti-War Convictions of Students

The findings of the college peace poll being promoted by the Literary Digest indicate a strong anti-war sentiment among American students. Of the 90,281 votes received to date, 82.17 per cent were marked "no" to the inquiry whether the students would bear arms "for the United States in the invasion of the borders of another country"; 17.83 per cent voted "yes." 83.60 per cent said they would fight if an enemy invaded the United States; 16.40 per cent voted "no." Asked if they believed the United States could stay out of another great war, the student bodies voted affirmatively with a more than 2 to 1 vote. On the question, "Should the United States enter the League of Nations?" the vote was 50.17 affirmative, 49.83 negative.

Death of Dr. Hopwood, Disciples Pioneer Educator

Josephus Hopwood, founder of Milligan college in Tennessee and for many years its president, and also connected for a long period with Lynchburg college in Virginia, died Jan. 27 at 92 years of age.

Roy Burkhart Will Enter Pastorate

Roy A. Burkhart, since 1927 a member of the staff of the International council of religious education, is to sever his connection next month. He will accept a call to the pastorate of First Community church, Columbus, O.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by The National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Cheating Cheaters

(Fay Wray, Cesar Romero) (Univ) Very ordinary crook story of two gangs trying to bluff and rob each other, with detective-heroine disguised as member of one, and hero a tool of the other. Confused and obvious, dialogue banal, comedy elementary.

For A: Poor. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Devil Dogs of the Air

(James Cagney, Pat O'Brien) (Warner) Engrossing film, less fiction than genuine document on training activities at naval air base. Impressive, thrilling scenes of air maneuvers in realistic practice battle, from which cocky but chastened hero emerges with flying colors.

For A: Very good. For Y: Mostly good. For C: Good but thrilling.

Good Fairy, The

(Margaret Sullavan, Frank Morgan) (Univ) Molnar's whimsical character-comedy finely screened with choice cast and dialogue and comedy that sparkle. Charming heroine unintentionally turns heads of three men and right one finally wins. Thoroughly wholesome amusement on the whole.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Excellent. For C: Mature.

Hell in the Heavens

(Warner Baxter, Conchita Montenegro) (Fox) Vivid picture of tense life of air-fighters in French aviation center during great war, with grueling fear torturing all alike. Mostly grim, convincing realism, slightly eased by bits of comedy, leaving little glamour about war.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Good thriller. For C: Too strong.

Iron Duke, The

(George Arliss and huge cast) (Gaumont-British) Lavish historical spectacle

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masterfully played and set. High moments from Congress of Vienna to grave changes after Waterloo. Striking portrayal of Iron Duke by Arliss, rather more duke than iron. Dignified, slow-moving but interesting and impressive.

For A: Very good. For Y: Very good. For C: Mature.

Our Daily Bread

(Tom Keene, Karen Morley) (UA) Young couple, beaten by depression, go back to the land, enlist workers and form mutual service community. Success threatened by drought till ex-criminal sacrifices himself to make irrigation possible. Earnest propaganda more telling if better acted.

For A: Only fair. For Y: Fair. For C: Little interest.

White Cockatoo, The

(Jean Muir, Ricardo Cortez) (Warner) Complicated murder-mystery melodrama, set in remote inn on French sea-coast, with many involved in plot and counterplot over heroine's American inheritance. Solved only by some original assistance from cockatoo. Heroine's rôle notably good.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Thrilling. For C: No.

Best Recent Films for Family:

Peck's Bad Boy	County Chairman
Anne of Green Gables	The Little Minister
Bright Eyes	Romance in Manhattan

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Clive of India	Lives of a Bengal Lancer
Man of Aran	The President Vanishes
Power	Broadway Bill

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Riches of Christ, Readings for Lent, by Bede Frost. Macmillan, $1.75.

Things to Live For, Notes for an Autobiography, by Francis Stuart. Macmillan, $2.50.

The Modern Encyclopedia, complete in one volume, edited by A. H. McDannald. Wm. H. Wise Co., $1.95.

Unrolling the Map, the Story of Exploration, by Leonard Outhwaite. Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.75.

Re-thinking Religious Liberalism, by Rufus M. Jones. Beacon Press, $1.00.

Arden Acres, by Jessica Nelson North. Harcourt, $2.00.

A Western Wind, by Charles S. Brooks. Harcourt, $2.00.

The Centennial History of Franklin College, by John F. Cady. Franklin College, Franklin, Ind., $1.25.

The Popular Practice of Fraud, by T. Swann Harding. Longmans, $2.50.

Why We Feel That Way, an Analysis of Human Emotions, by Augustus W. Trettien. Stratford, $3.00.

Fascism and Social Revolution, by R. Palme Dutt. International Publishers, $2.25.

My Adventures into Spiritualism, by E. Lee Howard. Macmillan, $2.00.

Partners in Plunder, the Cost of Business Dictatorship, by J. B. Matthews and R. E. Shallcross. Covici, Friede, $2.50.

Values and Reality, by Leo Richard Ward. Sheed & Ward, $3.00.

A Captain Departed, by A. W. Smith. Yale University Press, $2.50.

Eminent Americans whom India should know, by Jabez T. Sunderland. R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, Rupees 3.

What Did Jesus Think: Studies in the Mind of Christ, by Stanley Brown-Serman and Harold Adye Prichard. Macmillan, $2.50.

Permanence and Change, an Anatomy of Purpose, by Kenneth Burke. New Republic, $1.00.

Beyond Fundamentalism and Modernism, by George W. Richards. Scribners, $2.00.

A History of Everyday Things in England: The Age of Production, 1851-1934, by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell. Scribners, $2.50.

The Game of Life, by John J. Lanier. Author, Fredericksburg, Va., $1.00.

This Holy Fellowship, Thoughts on the Holy Communion, by Peter Green. Longmans, $1.40.

From the Hills, Meditative Prayers, by Ethel Greenough Holmes. Christian Institute, 3521 Gillham St., Kansas City, Mo., 50 cents.

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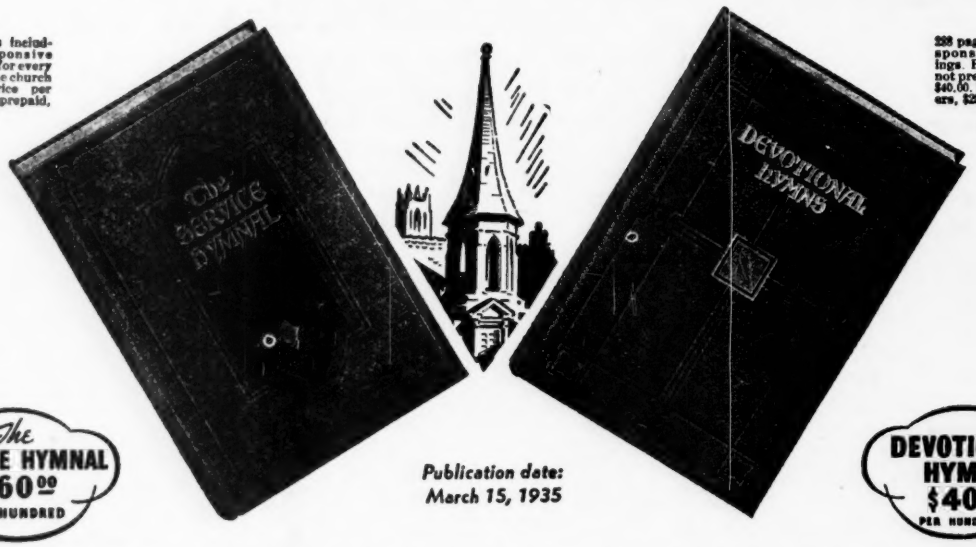

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